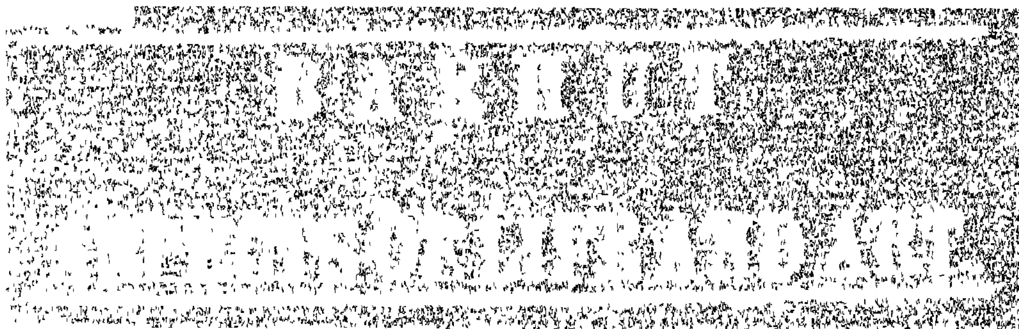


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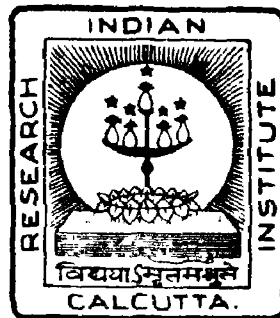
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BARHUT

BOOK III

ASPECTS OF LIFE AND ART



BY

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To

SYAMA PRASAD MOOKERJEE, Esq., M. A., B. L., M. L. C.,

Barrister-at-Law, Advocate, Calcutta High Court,

Vice-Chancellor, University of Calcutta,

this volume is dedicated
in token of love and
esteem and gratitude

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PREFACE

It is really very painful to think that I should have toiled with the monument of Barhut alone for more than a decade. And it is no less painful that when with the publication of this volume I come to the end of my labours, there still remains the regret that I could not deal with all the aspects of Barhut life and art as I desired to do. Even the aspects that have been dealt with have only been barely touched. I have refrained from expressing an æsthetic judgement on the art of Barhut, leaving it to be performed by a more competent scholar. All that I have been concerned to do in this volume is to present some new data gathered by me as a result of continued study and first-hand observation. It may be hoped that these data supplied both from literature and the monument itself will serve as a fresh incentive to the study of the monunent which, in respect of its antiquity, comprehensiveness and importance, deserves careful consideration. A detailed comparative study of the monument of Barhut and the remains of the art of the Indus Valley is still a desideratum. But I may observe with satisfaction that attempts have been made by several scholars and art-critics, both in India and Europe, to throw fresh light on the subject from different points of view, and, above all, to interpret the monument, essaying to bring out its inner and eternal significance, which is essentially spiritual. Thus one may understand, the study of the subject has not proved to be static but dynamic and progressive. The pioneers in the field, Alexander Cunningham and others, were the first saints whose vision and interest touched just what was on the surface, though even for that we, claiming to be greater seers, must ever remain indebted to them. So far as the present monograph is concerned, the contributions of all have been respectfully considered and noticed.

The book of inscriptions was published by the University of Calcutta in 1926 as a separate volume at the instance of the late lamented Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. The publication of the remaining volumes had to be delayed till I found in Dr. B. C. Law, Ph, D., M. A., B. L., a generous donor to finance the venture. I am fully conscious of the fact that a formal expression of gratitude for this is not sufficient to give an idea of my debt of obligation to him. But I am always proud to think that he is rightly honoured not only as a patron of Indological researches and publications but also as an able exponent of Indology itself.

To my Alma Mater, the University of Calcutta, I owe a debt that can never be repaid. During the many years of my connection with this seat of learning,

I have been given all facilities by the Vice-Chancellor and others for research and study. Among my colleagues, I am particularly indebted to Mr. S. N. Mitra, M. A., who has assiduously worked with me for the vindication of Buddhistic studies, even in their bearing on the interpretation of Indian inscriptions, monuments and sculptures. And I am also indebted to Dr. Stella Kramrisch for the valuable suggestions she has readily given me from time to time.

I have to acknowledge my thanks to Mr. N. G. Majumder, M. A., Superintendent of Archæology, Eastern Circle, for the facilities and suggestions offered by him whenever I needed them.

I have also to express my thanks to my friends, Mr. Nalini Nath Dasgupta, M. A., Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, D. Phil., D. Litt., and Mr. M. Ishaque, M. A., for a keen personal interest evinced by them in the progress of the work. Mr. D. L. Barua, M. A., Research Fellow, has kindly prepared the index for me.

Lastly, I must mention that Messrs. Indian Photo Engraving Company, who have established a reputation in this country as leading artists by the high quality of their work, did all they could to prepare the blocks to their satisfaction, and if the work had been entrusted to them from the beginning, I am sure the plates would have been uniformly well done.

CALCUTTA.
December, 22, 1936.

B. M. BARUA

BARHUT

BOOK III

ASPECTS OF LIFE AND ART

SECTION I

ADDENDA & CORRIGENDA

1. C. Pls. XIII, XIV, XV—S. Gate. Prasenajit Pillar. Outer Face. Upper Bas-Relief (Scene 32). Middle Bas-Relief (Scene 33). Lower Bas-Relief (Scene 34) :—

The outer face of the Prasenajit Pillar bears three bas-reliefs in three square panels, one placed below the other. The upper relief which is labelled with the inscription—Bhagavato Sākamunino Bodho [Bodhi]—distinctly represents a scene of enlightenment of Buddha Śākyamuni. The inscription itself refers to the Bo-tree which is the main object of interest from the artist's point of view. If it thus represents the attainment of Buddhahood by Śākyamuni at the foot of the Bo-tree Aśvattha, the question arises whether it is possible or not to inter-connect it with the two lower reliefs in respect of their subject-matter.

The middle relief has so far been taken to represent a scene of devatā-āyāchana (deities' supplication) to the Bodhisattva while he was then a happy dweller of the Tushita heaven[1], and the lower relief, that of a forecast of the Bodhisattva's birth as a son of man[2].

As regards the middle relief, the decisive factor in the identification of its subject-matter is the seated human figure at the left lower corner. The figure was taken to represent a deity, lost in serious thoughts under a tree. The actual description given was : 'seated on a piece of rock under a tree, with the left leg laid across

1 Barhut Inscriptions, p. 46 ; Barhut, Bk II, Jātaka Scenes, pp. 8-9.

2 Barhut Inscriptions, p. 49 ; Barhut, Bk. II, Jātaka Scenes, pp. 9-10.

the right kept erect, pressing the right knee towards the breast. His heads rests on the palm of his left hand in a slightly reclining position, while he holds a small ankuśa or elephant-goad in his outstretched right hand'.

The real reading of the figure is somewhat different from what we made out before. The figure remains seated on a seat, or simply on the ground, in front of a tree, in the posture aforesaid, with this difference that the deity represented by it is seen writing on the ground with a small log of wood or pen-like object, the marks of furrowing being clearly visible.

The above reading of the figure and its action enable us to decide once for all with Mr. T. N. Ramachandran that the subject of illustration is nothing else than the defeat and discomfiture of Māra[1]. The Jātaka Nidāna-kathā relates that as soon as Māra suffered a crushing defeat and Siddhārtha gained a signal victory, the deities came in a body to congratulate the victor, the Nāgas communicating the happy news to the Nāgas, the Suparṇas to the Suparṇas, the gods to the gods, and the Brahmas to the Brahmas, the Vidyādharas carrying fragrant garlands in their hands. When the Enlightened One was spending the fifth week under the Neatherd's Banyan (Ajapāla-nigrodha), Māra the Fiend failing to retain his hold on the great man, sat down sad at heart and dejected on the high-road, 'drawing sixteen lines on the ground'[2].

The Lalita-vistara says that during the fourth week when the Enlightened One remained on the Jewel-walk assuming a walking posture, Māra the Fiend appeared on the scene to pursuade the Master to pass away. When all his entreaties failed to win the desired promise, Māra sat down sad at heart, dejected and crest-fallen, and scribbled on the ground with a piece of wood (kāshṭhena mahīṃ vilikhan).[3]

According to the Mahāvastu, just a week after Buddha's enlightenment, Māra, dejected in spirit, sat down to scribble on the ground with a twig (kāṇḍena).[4]

At the left upper corner, one may see the figure of Māra or of one of Māra's legion (Māra-parisā), bare-bodied and without any head-dress.

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1 Mr. Ramachandran tells us that he noticed a similar action in one of the Amarāvatī motifs, which represents undoubtedly the same story of Māra's defeat and discomfiture.

2 Fausböll's Jātaka, I, p. 78: Solasamaṃ lekhaṃ ākaḍḍhi mahāmagge. See Buddhist Birth-Stories by T. W. Rhys Davids, new and revised edition, pp. 196, 252.

3 Lalita-vistara, ed. Lefmann, Ch. XXIV, p. 377.

4 Mahāvastu, ed. Senart, II, p. 349: Māraś cha durmano āsi kāṇḍena likhate mahiṃ, jito' smi devadevena Śākyasiṃhena tāpinā.

The lower relief depicts a jovial scene of three groups nymphs (achharā), one group dancing, one singing, and the third playing musical instruments. Just in front of the dancing group is shown a dancing little boy, the purpose of which, perhaps, is that among the dancing women, some were damsels in the prime of their youth and some who had become mothers. Now, the question is : Can this relief be connected with the story of Māra's defeat ? The Lalita-vistara (XXI, p. 320) says that immediately after his first defeat, Māra employed his daughters,—the nymphs, expert in the art of dancing, singing, instrumental music, and other womanly wiles and guiles (strīmāyā), to test the moral fortitude of the newly Enlightened One, appearing in different stages of womanhood. In the gāthās that follow, the three daughters of Māra, Rati, Arati and Tṛishṇā, familiar to other Buddhist legends as well, are introduced. The connection of the nymphs aforesaid with these three daughters of Māra is not at all clear. The Lalita-vistara (XXII, p. 353) also relates that the nymphs of the Kāmāvachara heavens went up to the Enlightened One to express their felicitations at the decisive victory obtained by him.

2. Scene 141 (a). Barhut, Bk. II. p.119 :—

The following is the description we offered of this bas-relief :

"This curious bas-relief, carved, apparently with a decorative motive, in a half-medallion at the top of a Railing-pillar, represents a scene, where an elephant madly runs at full speed towards a tree, trampling a tortoise on the way and crushing the creature under his feet. His gaping mouth, panting breath, out-stretched tail, falling dung, galloping strides and bodily movements are expressive of the quick motion. The tree and the elephant are approached by another tortoise from the opposite side, the creature moving at full speed and dashing on. Here the second creature seems to have provoked the elephant".[1]

We now detect that there is only one creature, shown in two different positions : in the first position, the sculptor shows how it challenged the elephant, and in the second, how it met with death by the falling dung of the animal. The creature is not a tortoise, because it has six legs instead of four ; it is no other than a tortoise-shaped insect. The details of the scene may be well explained by the Gūthapāṇa-Jātaka (F. No. 227) which relates :

A maddened elephant came to a dung-heap where a dung-beetle lived, being over-conscious of its strength. The elephant smelling the dung, went back. The beetle saw him and thought : "Yon creature is afraid of me. I must fight with him",

1 Barhut, Bk. II, pp. 119-120.

and so it challenged the elephant. The elephant turned towards the beetle, and dropping a great piece of dung and making water, killed the beetle then and there, and scampered into the forest.

The sculptor cleverly indicates the existence of the forest, the maddened condition of the elephant, the falling piece of dung, the challenging of the elephant by the beetle, and the fate it ultimately met.

3. C. Pl. XLVIII. 11 (Scene 140). Barhut, Bk. II. pp. 162-64 :—

This bas-relief, as is well-known, has its counterpart in the sculpture of the Bodh-Gayā railing where, however, the second human figure is dispensed with[1]. It is doubtful if the subject-matter of the Barhut or the Bodh-Gayā sculpture can be connected with the story of Sambulā or that of Vessantara. It is definite that in it two human hands project from the trunk of a Jambu or rose-apple tree, the right hand holding out a water-jug to wash the hand of the good man in front, and the left hand holding out a bowl or plate filled with edibles for offering the same to the saintly man. The second human figure may not be a woman. The figure may be taken just to represent a disciple or companion of the saint who sits on a morhā under a rose-apple tree.

The case is certainly not that of a fruit-tree bending down of its own accord to bring its fruits within an easy reach of the persons who needed them.[2] The action of the two hands projecting from the trunk of a tree is satisfactorily explained by the Udena-story in the Dhammapada Commentary. In one of its episodes, we are told how a tree-spirit burst out of the trunk of the tree in which it dwelt to appear in person and to offer food to a body of saints headed by a leader, holding out a water-jug in one hand and a dish in the other. Unfortunately, the tree mentioned in it is a tree other than a rose-apple.[3] But one of the Jātakas, namely, the Jambu-khādaka, expressly says that a tree-spirit dwelt in a rose-apple tree.[4] We now say that the subject of illustration must have been a story in which a tree-spirit dwelling in a rose-apple tree fed a holy man on Mt. Nārada in the aforesaid manner.

4. Scene (141) :—

As described before, here "we see a hermitage where a hermit is seated cross-legged on a seat appearing to be a square slab of stone, confronting a tree, of which the bare outline now remains".[5]

1 Barua, Gayā & Buddha-Gayā, Vol. II, Fig. No. 75 ; Cunningham, Mahābodhi.
2 Fausböll, Jātaka, VI., p. 513.
3 Dhammapada-Commentary, I, pp. 203-204.
4 Fausböll, Jātaka, II, p. 439.
5 Barhut, Bk. II, p. 164.

There is a similar bas-relief on the Bodh-Gayā railing, in which a person remains seated cross-legged under a sal tree, while a cave-dwelling is shown on the left and just by his side[1]. We have little doubt that the Barhut scene can equally be explained by the Sonaka-Jātaka (F. No. 529), narrating how the son of a royal chaplain realised the impermanence of things at the fall of a withered leaf from the sal tree under which he sat down, and became a pachcheka-Buddha.

5. Scene 141 (a) :—

In this bas-relief, hitherto left unnoticed, we see a royal personage on the left and another man on the right, both of whom sit cross-legged on the floor of a building, of which an entrance or a window only is shown. They are engaged in a serious conversation. The details of the sculptured scene may be explained by various Birth-stories. In the absence of the lower half, it is well-nigh impossible to identify the subject of illustration with any particular story.

6. Scene 141 (b) :—

This is apparently another decorative motif presenting an animated scene of a herd of elephants in an elephant-forest. Two younger elephants are engaged in eating the branches of a tree, standing characteristically before a square-shaped stone, with a stone-bowl upon it, while the lord of the herd, who is a great tusker, stands behind them, with his body concealed in a bush. The lord of the herd, too, has grasped the foliage of a small plant with his outstretched trunk. We are unable to identify the sculptured scene with any Buddhist story.

7. Scene 9 (a) :—

This, too, must be taken to be a decorative motif, which was to draw the attention of a pilgrim or visitor as soon as he entered the Stūpa-area by the east gate and began to walk round the monument by keeping the inner side of the main railing in front and witnessing all that was to be seen on it, especially on the coping. The motif shows how a man walks on a narrow path between two ropes, tied to two posts. The purpose of the motif is obviously to indicate the direction a pilgrim should follow in circumambulating the great Buddhist shrine.

8. Scene 148 (c). Barhut, Bk. II. p. 172 :—

We agree at last with Cunningham in thinking that the supine listlessness of the giant "is suggestive rather of having his nose tickled than of having a tooth violently tugged by a forceps worked by an elephant."

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1 Barua, Gayā and Buddha-Gayā, Vol. II, p. 114, Fig. 73

9. Scene (67). Numbered 64c in Bk. II. p. 64 :—

It was not quite correct to say that only the middle portion of the figure of the demi-god survives. For the reproduction will show that not only the bust but the outline of the face and the lower part of the head are visible. The attitude of the two hands which are broken can be clearly discerned.

SECTION II

STRUCTURAL DETAILS AND SYMBOLISM

1. **Stupa** :—The stūpa was the central structure of the Buddhist chaitya or monument at Barhut. Brick was the chief, if not the only, material used for its construction, and brick is the only remnant of the stūpa[1]. In some of the Bodh-Gayā designs of the stūpa, the sculptor has been interested in showing the brick-setting at the base of the structure, his intention being to indicate the nature of the material generally used in building a stūpa[2].

In the absence of the stūpa, its plan of construction, general shape and ornamental details may be determined by a study of the stūpas at Sānchi (ancient Kākanāva). These may be partly determined by a study of the remnants of the dharmarājikā, built by Aśoka at Sārnāth. But the stūpa-models in the Barhut sculpture itself are an invaluable aid to this work of reconstruction. The models designed on the Bodh-Gayā railing are important as indicating certain minoı changes in details.

In one of the Barhut medallions, in which Cunningham noticed a geometrical pattern, we really see how brick was laid out in a warf-and-woof fashion (Fig. 4).

There are as many as four stūpa-models, on the Barhut Railing, and three on the Eastern Gateway. The models indicate that the stūpa of Barhut consisted of these three parts : (1) a cylindrical or circular base bearing a berm-railing upon it, (2) a hemispherical dome, and (3) a harmikā or crowning construction. The dome is placed upon the base, and the harmikā upon the dome. The base suggests the idea of a terrace, though not very prominently as yet, and it is almost of the same height as the berm-railing around the dome. In one instance, it is ornamented with a row of vertically set palms of human hands, while in other examples, the ornament consists chiefly in a creeper-pattern or a wreath-work. In one instance, the berm-railing shows three rows of rails, while in other examples, it has four rows. The dome, too, is ornamented with long leafy stalks crawling straight down and bearing each a full-blown flower at the lower end, while a chain-work of wreaths

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1 Barhut, Bk. I, p. 3.

2 Barua, Gayā and Buddha-Gayā, Vol. II, Fig. 19.

remains suspended from some of those stalks. Just on the flat top of the dome is set a small circular or quadrangular railing with three or four rails. Whether this small railing on the dome is monolithic like that of Aśoka's dharmarājikā at Sārnāth or not, we cannot definitely say. But certain it is that this railing holds in it a small sanctuary, the roof of which rests upon four pillars. The roof is apparently designed on the model of the capital of Aśokan monolith. Here the capital bears a circular abacus with fire-altars as an ornament on the round, and the abacus supports two umbrellas, one above the other. In one of the models, just one umbrella is shown, while in another, both the umbrellas appear.[1]

The earlier stūpa-models on the Bodh-Gayā railing[2] show a change in this respect that the berm-railing on the base fades into insignificance, if not altogether dispensed with. That the Barhut stūpa had a berm-railing around its dome may be easily inferred, as Sir John Marshall rightly suggests, from the stūpas at Sānchi that still remain in situ. As a matter of fact, there are still a few lingering remnants of a smaller railing, which Cunningham inadvertantly took to be an outer railing enclosing the main.

In some of the Amarāvatī models, the ornament on the dome replaces the crawling stalks of flowers by the crawling snakes with hooded heads.

2. **Meaning of Stupa** :—The word stūpa 'in the Ṛigveda and later denotes the top-knot of hair as designating the upper part of the head.'[3] In Pali, the word thūpa, corresponding to the Sanskrit stūpa, denotes 'a conical heap', 'a pile', or 'mound' 'a conical or bell-shaped shrine containing a relic', 'a dāgaba'. The verbal form thūpīkata means 'heaped up', Sanskrit stūpīkṛita.[4] Corresponding to the English tomb, we have in Pali tumba, which literary means anything 'swollen of shape'. The Pali tumba and tumula, on one hand, and the tumulus, on the other, may be derived from one and the same root.[5] As employed in Buddhist literature, the word thūpa or stūpa primarily denotes a funeral monument in the shape of a mound, a mound-shaped chaitya enshrining the bodily remains or relics of a notable personage. The remains are those which are collected from the funeral pile after the body is cremated in it. There is no instance where the body is said to have been buried or

1 Scenes, Nos. 25, 54, 55 & 58.
2 Barua, Gayā and Buddha-Gayā, Vol. II, Fig. 19.
3 Vedic Index II, p. 483.
4 Childers, Dictionary of the Pali Language, sub voce Thūpa.
5 Pali-English Dictionary, sub voce Tumba and Tumula.

entombed. In later Buddhist works, however, we have mention of stūpas or dharmarājikās built with the express purpose of marking out the site or spot where a notable incident in the life of the Buddha or in that of others took place. In other words, these were mound-shaped monuments, the pupose of which was simply commemorative of an event or historical association. The underlying motive of all stūpas is, of course, commemorative. The difference in view is one between the stūpas which were built for the purpose of depositing the relics (dhātu-nidhāna) and those which are built to mark a spot where an important historical incident took place. This having been the case, it is easy to understand that the stūpas as funeral monuments may be erected in any place, in any part of the world, if the relics be available for enshrinement, while the stūpas as purely memorial shrines must be erected on the very spot bearing the particular historical association which is intended to be preserved and perpetuated.

In all the earlier references, met with in the Jātakas and the corpus of texts composing the Pali Canon, the stūpa figures only as a funeral monument. The Sujāta Jātaka (F. No. 352), for instance, relates that when Sujāta's grandfather died his father made a mound of earth (mattikā-thūpa) and enshrined the bodily remains of the sire. The Bāhiya-Sutta in the Udāna (I. 10) says that when Bāhiya, the wandering ascetic clad in a wooden robe, was found dead on the road after his conversion to the Buddhist faith, the Buddha asked the monks who accompanied him to carry the dead body on a mañcha (bier) and to erect a stūpa in honour of Bāhiya after cremating his body outside the city of Śrāvastī[1]. His orders were forthwith faithfully carried out, and the monks who were entrusted with this duty returned to Jetavana and reported the matter to the Master. The stūpa built by them must have been a simple construction of a mound of earth, otherwise it would not have been possible for the monks to build this stūpa immediately after cremating the body. This is not, however, to suggest that the stūpas in Buddha's time or before the rise of Buddhism, were all made of earth. Neither the Bāhiya-Sutta nor its commentary states where and how the stūpa as a dhātuchaitya was erected. The Sujāta-Jātaka, on the other hand, says that the body was cremated in one place, in the āḷāhana, and the stūpa as a mound of earth was built in Sujāta's father's garden, for depositing the bones collected from the funeral pile, and the same was honoured with the offerings of flowers made from time to time.[2]

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1 Gaṇhatha bhikkhave Bāhiyassa Dāruchiriyassa sarīrakaṃ mañchakaṃ āropetvā nīharitvā jhāpetvā thūpañch' assa karotha.

2 Āḷāhanato aṭṭhīni āharitvā attano ārāme mattikāthūpaṃ katvā tāni nidahitvā gatagatavelāya thūpaṃ pupphehi pūjetvā chetiyaṃ āvijjanto.

The Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta which is the main canonical authority for the erection of stūpas among the Buddhists conclusively proves that these were all funeral monuments at first.[1] They were so known to all the reciters of the texts of the Pali Canon. The same Suttanta unmistakably shows that the body was cremated in one place, while the stūpas enshrining the relics were built elsewhere, preferably in a public place, where the four cross-roads met (chātummahāpathe). The relics consisted of the bones (sarīrāni), embers (aṅgārāni), and kumbha (the vessel in which the bones were collected),[2] all collected from the funeral pyre. The mound or cairn enshrining the bones is called sarīra-thūpa, that enshrining the embers is called aṅgāra-thūpa, and that enshrining the vessel is called Kumbha-thūpa.[3] Having not been restricted to a particular spot, the stūpas could easily be intended to stand as monuments of the Buddhist faith far and wide, in all quarters :

Vitthārikā hontu disāsu thūpā
bahujjano chakkhumato pasanno.[4]
"Wide spread let Thūpas rise in every land,
That in the Enlightened One mankind may trust."[5]

When the body of the Tathāgata had burnt away and the funeral pile was extinguished with scented water, the bones were taken to the council hall of the Mallas of Kusinārā where these were surrounded with 'a lattice-work of spears, and with a rampart of bows and honoured and worshipped for seven days 'with dance and song and music, and with garlands and perfumes'.[6]

In the Mahākapi-Jātaka (F. No. 407), too, we read that when a noble monkey-king died, he was honoured with obsequies befitting a king. After the body of the monkey-king had been burnt on the funeral pile, the ministers returned to the king, taking with them the 'crown of the head', 'the skull' (sīsa-kapāla). The king caused a chetiya (shrine) to be made on the spot where the body was cremated (āḷāhane) and honoured with burning lamps, garlands and perfumes, while the skull, ornamented with gold, was placed on a spear-head (kuntagge). The spear with the

1 Dīgha, II, pp. 141—142.

2 Prof. Rhys Davids took it to be a vessel 'in which the body had been burnt', which is not, however, supported by the text.

3 Dīgha, II, pp. 164—167.

4 Dīgha, II, pp. 1[illegible]6.

5 Buddhist Suttas by T. W. Rhys Davids, p. 133.

6 Dīgha, II, p. 164 : Atha kho Kusinārakā Mallā Bhagavato sarīrāni sattāhaṃ santhāgāre satti-pañjaraṃ karitvā dhanu-pākāraṃ parikkhipitvā nachchehi gītehi vāditehi mālehi gandhehi sakkariṃsu parikariṃsu mānesuṃ pūjesuṃ.

skull of the monkey-king was set up at the royal gate and the relic was honoured for seven days, and thereafter it was enshrined in a chetiya especially built for the purpose.[1]

The importance of the above Jātaka account is twofold : (1) that only the sīsa-kapāla (skull or crown of the head) which is no other than the Vedic stūpa was picked up from the funeral pile for enshrinement elsewhere ; and (2) that the shrine built on the spot of āḷāhana is not called a thūpa but a chetiya. Though the reference is still a solitary one, it does not fail to indicate that the stūpa was originally a chetiya for the enshrinement of the sīsa-kapāla or 'crown of the head', the 'skull', whence the name stūpa or thūpa arose as an architectural structure for the enshrinement of all bodily remains of a person. In other words, the stūpa as denoting 'the crown of the head' was the main thing to be enshrined ; it was originally far from being an architectural term. It could become employed as a term of architecture only when the container (i.e., the shrine or monument) came to be known by the name of the contained (i.e., the stūpa). The dāgaba as designating the stūpa as a whole and not merely the dhātu-garbha, affords just another instance in which the container took its name from the contained.

3. Stupa and Tumulus :—M. Foucher in his Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra, propounded a theory, which has since become classical, suggesting that the stūpa as a funeral monument evolved from an ancient form of the tumulus. He still maintains that the relations of the stūpa to the tumulus are certain.' Both are sepulchral mounds, though the stūpa has far outgrown the tumulus in its dimension. The relation between the two is so close that the tumulus may be regarded just as an archaic stūpa. There is a double similarity between the two,—in affectation as well as structure'.[2] The real merit of this theory lies in the fact that it leads us to trace the origin of the stūpa in a widely prevalent ancient custom, which was not confined to India. And it is chiefly in the light of this theory that M. Combaz has sought to trace the evolution of the stūpa in Asia.[3]

M. Paul Mus who has discussed the problem of the origin and transmigration of the stūpa with unprecedented and unsurpassed zeal and thoroughness in his

1 Rājīnaṃ karaṇiya-niyāmen' eva mahāsattassa sarira-kichchaṃ katvā sīsa-kapālaṃ gahetvā rañño santikaṃ āgamaṃsu. Rājā mahāsattassa āḷāhane chetiyaṃ kāretva . sīsa-kapālaṃ suvaṇṇakhachitaṃ kāretvā kuntagge ṭhapetvā... .kuntam rājadvāre ṭhapetvā... ..sattāhaṃ dhātu-pūjaṃ akāsi. Atha naṃ dhātuṃ gahetvā chetiyaṃ kāretvā yāvajivaṃ gandha-mālādīhi pūjento.

2 Barabudur by Paul Mus, Bulletin De l' ecole Française D' extreme-Orient. T. XXXIII. p. 37.

3 Combaz, L'evolution du stūpa en Asie.

voluminous dissertation—Barabudur, inclines to think that the tumulus as a primitive and simple sepulchral mound cannot satisfactorily account for such a complex religious monument as the Buddhist stūpa. But we do not see any force in the argument that M. Foucher's theory is partially invalidated by the fact that the tumulus is exclusively a sepulchral mound, while the stūpa is in some instances a purely memorial monument. We have already shown that the stūpa, too, was originally nothing but a funeral monument. The tumulus as a sepulchral mound cannot but be entertained as the parent form from which the stūpa ultimately evolved. We are to specifically think of the tumulus in its earlier stage when it was a mound covering up a tomb or grave in which the dead body of a person was buried.

4. Stupa and Smasana :—The second theory which is advocated M. Przyluski and others seeks to find out the immediate background of the stūpa in the Brahmanical śmaśāna. According to a fanciful interpretation in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 8. I. 1), the śmaśāna is either śavānna (food for a corpse) or śmaśānna (food for eaters among the Fathers). Yāska (Nir. III. 5) explains the word śmaśāna as meaning śava-śayana (coach for a body), while Weber (Ind. Stud. I. p. 187) takes it to mean aśman-śayana or 'stone couch'. The śmaśāna is a "burial place, sepulchre, which is constructed in the form of a tumulus or gravemound".[1]

The śmaśāna represents the tumulus in the second stage of its development when cremation took the place of burial. The five funeral hymns in the Ṛigveda (X. 14-18) attest that 'though burial was also practised, cremation was the usual method of disposing of the dead'. But the system or fiction of burial continued, the burial of the bones, burnt or unburnt (anagnidagdha)[2]. After the corpse had been burnt, immediately or sometime after death, the bones were carefully collected 'with a view to their being placed in an earthen vessel and buried'.[3] Utmost care was taken to keep the bones intact so that they might be arranged 'limb by limb' in the sepulchre[1]. In a Vedic hymn (Rv. X. 18), Agni is 'besought to preserve the body intact and to burn the goat which is sacrificed as his portion'. The Āśvalāyana Gṛihya-Sūtra (IV. 1-5), in which the word śmaśāna is employed in a double sense to mean 'the place where the body is burned and the place where the gathered bones are deposited', gives a detailed description of the procedure to be followed in disposing of the dead, making explicit what is implicit in the Vedic hymn above referred to· When a person died, a piece of ground was to be dug up to the south-east or to the south-

1 Śat. Brāh., S. B. E., Vol. XLIV, p. 421, f. n. 3.
2 R. V. X. 15. 14 : Ye agnidagdhā Ye anagnidagdhā.
3 Śat. Brāh., S B. E., Vol. XLIV, p. 117, f. n. 3.

west, at a place which was inclined towards the south or towards the south-east, or according to some teachers, towards the south-west. The pit in the ground was to be of the length of a man with upraised arms, of the breadth of one fathom, and of the depth of one span. The ground was to be free from all sides and fertile in herbs. It was to be like a table-land from which waters would flow off to all sides. The hair, the beard, the hairs of the body and the nails had to be cut off from the dead body before it was carried to the cemetary. The persons carrying the sacred fires and sacrificial vessels were to lead the way. After them went aged persons forming an odd number, who were to carry the dead body which might be carried also in a cart with a seat, drawn by cows. A she-animal, a cow or a she-goat of one colour (perferably a black one) was to be led behind the dead body. Other relations of the deceased were to form the tail of the procession. On their arrival at the place, the performer of the rites was to walk three times round the spot with his left side turned towards it and to sprinkle water on it with a Śamī branch. The Āhavanīya fire was to be placed to the south-east, on an elevated corner of the place, the Gārhapatya fire to the south-west, and the Dakshiṇa fire to the south-west. After that an expert person was required to prepare a pile of fuel between the fires. The dead body was to be placed on a bed of sacrificial grass covered by a black antelope's skin with the hair outside. After that were to be put the following sacrificial implements on the dead body, a spoon into the right hand, another spoon into the left hand, a sacrificial sword on the right side, a ladle on the left side, a big ladle on the chest, the dishes on the head, the pressing stones on the teeth, two smaller ladles on the two sides of the nose, two vessels on the two ears, a vessel (pātrī) and a cup on the belly, a staff on the secret parts, two kindling woods on the thighs, the mortar and pestle on the legs, and two baskets on the feet. The implements which had a hollow were to be filled with sprinkled butter. After that the head and mouth of the dead person were to be covered with the omentum of the she-animal, the kidneys of the animal were to be laid into the hands of the dead body, the heart of the animal or two lumps of flour or rice were to be put on the heart. Upon the whole, the whole animal was to be distributed, limb by limb. The fires were to be lighted together after covering the dead body with the hide of the animal. After burning the dead body the people were to turn round from right to left and go away without turning back.

The gathering of the bones was to be performed after the 10th tithi from the death, on a tithi with an odd number, of the dark fortnight, under a single nakshatra. The performer of the rites was to sprinkle on the pyre with a Śamī branch milk mixed with water, and with the thumb and the fourth finger he was to put each

single bone into an earthen vessel, the feet first and the head last, without making a noise.

Having well gathered the bones and purified them with a winnowing basket, the persons interested in the funeral of the dead person were to cover the earthen vessel (i. e., the urn) with a lid and put it into a pit at a place where the waters from the different sides did not flow together save and except the rain water.

It will be noticed that the Gṛihya-Sūtra gives only a rough-shod description of how the earthen vessel containing the bones was buried in a pit at a suitable place, and that it does not even hint at the custom of burying the bones poured out of the jar and arranged 'limb by limb'. An elaborate description of the procedure followed in burying the bones in this manner is given in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 8. 1-4). But before dealing with this description, let us see if any additional light may be shed on the ancient method of burning a dead body on a funeral pyre whereby the bones might be left intact.

The Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta, giving as it does a vivid account of the disposal of the dead body of the Buddha, records that the following was the direction left by the Buddha himself for the disposal of his bodily remains :

"As men treat the remains of a king of kings, so should they treat the remains of a Tathāgata."

"They wrap the body of a king of kings in a new cloth. When that is done they wrap it in carded cotton wool. When that is done they wrap it in a new cloth, and so on till they have wrapped the body in five hundred successive layers of both kinds. Then they place the body in an oil vessel of iron (ayasāya tela-doṇiyā), and cover that close up with another oil vessel of iron. They then build a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes and burn the body of the king of kings. And then at the four cross-roads they erect a (thūpa) to the king of kings.······ At the four cross-roads a (thūpa) should be erected to the Tathāgata. And whosoever shall there place garlands or perfumes or paint, or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart that shall long be to them for a profit and a joy."

"These men, worthy of a cairn (thūpa), are four in number········· : a Tathāgata or Arahat Buddha······, a Pachcheka-Buddha······, a true hearer of the Tathāgata ······, a king of kings······"

The direction was obeyed. When the Blessed One died, his body was wrapped up in five hundred layers of new cloth and carded cotton wool. After that,

it was placed in an oil vessel of iron. The Mallas of Kusinārā made up their mind to carry it to the site of their shrine called Makuṭa-bandhana-chetiya, to the east of the city, and to perform the cremation ceremony there. The very name of the shrine suggests that it was a sanctified place where the Mallas as members of a warrior clan were ceremonially adorned with a diadem or some such ornament (pasādhana). It was on such a selected spot that a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes was built, and it was on such a pile that the body of the Blessed One was placed. Eight chieftains among the Mallas (the number is unexpectedly even) bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments for bearing the dead body. Following the usual custom, they thought of carrying it by the south and outside, to a spot on the south, and outside the city,—paying it honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage, with dance and song and music, with garlands and perfumes'. The purpose of the presiding spirits having been otherwise, they carried the body by the north to the north of the city, and entering the city by the north gate, they brought it through the midst of the city into the midst thereof. Going out again by the eastern gate, they carried it to the east of the city.

Four Malla chieftains had bathed their heads and clad themselves in new garments with a view to setting fire to the funeral pile. But the intention of the presiding spirits was otherwise. The part of the performer of the rites was to be played by the Venerable Mahākassapa and the five hundred brethren under him. They arranged their robes on one shoulder, and bowing down with clasped hands, thrice walked reverently round the pile, and then bowed down in reverence at the feet of the Blessed One. When the homage was ended, the funeral pile caught fire of itself. 'Just as one sees no soot or ash when ghee or oil is burned, so, as the body of the Blessed One burned itself away, from the skin and the integument, and the flesh, and the nerves, and the fluid of the joints, neither soot nor ash was seen : and only the bones remained behind. And of those five hundred pieces of raiment the very innermost and outermost were both consumed'. When the body had been burnt up, the funeral pile was extinguished by the streams of water that came down from the sky, the streams of water that gushed forth from beneath the earth, and scented water supplied by the Mallas of the place. Thereafter the bones (carefully collected, no doubt, in an earthen jar) were carried to the council hall of the Mallas where these were honoured for seven days.

Some eight powers of the time sent messengers claiming the remains of the Blessed One and intending to deposit them in a stūpa and to celebrate a feast in their honour by way of enshrining them. When 'strife and wounds and war' were about to arise over the remains of the Blessed One, a Brahmin, named Droṇa, averted

them by dividing them into eight portions, while he himself took the vessel (kumbha as his portion.[1]

The description shows that the embers (aṅgārāni) were collected along with the bones, and that they could be easily separated from the bones for separate enshrinement. The description also shows that the vessel was itself an important object for enshrinement.

The Theras of Ceylon added a few verses at the end of the account to say that of the eight measures of the relics (dhātuyo), seven were worshipped in India and one in Rāmagrāma, and that of the four teeth, one was honoured in heaven, one in Gandhāra city, one in Kaliṅga realm, and one in Nāgaloka. The Buddhavaṃsa in which these verses are re-echoed, adds even the name of Sīhala (Ceylon) in this connexion. The Theras of Ceylon evidently misled Buddhaghosa who in explaining the simple expression sarīrānī avasissiṃsu ("only the bones remained behind"), has introduced certain facts which are not at all warranted by the text. It is easy to follow him when he suggests that as long as a body remains in one mass, in its organic unity, it is called a sarīra, and when it becomes disjointed, its parts are called sarīrāni, a term by which he understands the dhātus or relics. But it becomes rather difficult to follow him when he says that only parts of the body of the Buddha, which after it had been burnt away, remained intact, were the four teeth, the two collar bones, and the crown of the head (uṇhīsa), while the remaining portion was reduced to particles. Professor Rhys Davids is perfectly justified in taking sarīrāni to mean aṭṭhīni or 'bones.'

Though the above account has sought to give a colouring of a miracle here and there, it brings out many points of historical interest and importance. In the first place, it indicates that a new method was devised to burn the body with the intention of keeping the bones intact. In this new method, the placing of the body between two hides, namely, the black antelope's skin and the hide of the she-animal immolated on the occasion, was dispensed with. Instead of this, the body was wrapped up in several successive layers of new cloth and carded cotton wool, and thereafter dipped in oil. Secondly, neither in the account in the Āśvalāyana Gṛihya-Sūtra nor in this, there is any reference to shoving with a poker (śūlena).

Thirdly, according to the direction given by the Buddha, only one stūpa was to be built in his honour, depositing his remains therein, and that would have been precisely the case, if there were no rival claimants for them. The circumstances were

1 The account is based upon the translation by Prof. Rhys Davids in the Buddhist Suttas.

such that the remains had to be apportioned for enshrinement in several stūpas, in each of which only a portion could be deposited and not all the remains,—the burnt bones arranged limb by limb. The result was that several stūpas came to be constructed in different quarters, in disregard of the time-honoured custom as well as the Buddha's direction.

The rules prescribed in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (XIII. 8. 1-4) are those for the construction of śmaśānas, and the śmaśānas were the tombs or sepulchral mounds for the burial or depositing of the bones burnt. The bones were carefully collected and preserved in an earthen vessel till they were ceremonially buried or deposited. The vessel was not to be buried but thrown away on a ground at some distance from the śmaśāna. To make a śmaśāna was to prepare a 'house' or 'monument' to a deceased person, man or woman. The fiction of building a house to a dead person had its corollaries : the selection of a proper site, the testing and purification of the soil by means of ploughing and planting certain herbs.

As for the site, the śmaśāna was to be made on a ground inclined towards the north, or towards the south or on a 'counter-cutting in ground' inclined towards the south, or on any level ground where waters flowing from a south-easterly direction, fed a lake or pool, which never dried up. The site selected for it was to be pleasant and peaceful and secluded, and at the same time exposed to the sun, with beautiful objects at the back, not visible from the village or locality. The śmaśāna was not to be made in an open space or on a path.

And as for the soil, the śmaśāna was to be made on salt soil, on such ground as was filled with roots. The proximity to places where grew reeds and such other shrubs, or where stood an Aśvattha (Ficus religiosa), or a Nyagrodha (Ficus bengalanensis), or some such tree.

The godly people made their śmaśānas four-cornered, while those of the Asura nature, the Easterns (prāchyā) and others (the śūdras and such-like people) made them round (parimaṇḍala). The śmaśāna was so to be made that it might lie between two regions, the eastern and southern, i.e., 'with its front side towards the south-east'.

The Agnichit (builder of a fire-altar) was to make the śmaśāna after the manner of a fire-altar, not too large but rather just of man's size, leaving no room for another. The depth of the pit in the ground was to be the same as the intended height of the tomb or sepulchral mound. The godly people would not make their sepulchres so as to be separate from the earth, whilst those of the Asura nature, the Easterns and others, would make them either on a 'basin' (chamū) or on some such thing.

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The śmaśāna was not to be made immediately after the death of a person but a long time after, when others would completely forget his or her sin. It was to be made either in autumn, or in the month of Māgha, or in summer, under a suitable single nakshatra, and at new moon. For a Kshatriya it might be made as high as a man with upstretched arms, for a Brāhmaṇa reaching up to the mouth, for a woman up to the hips, for a Vaiśya up to the thighs, and for a Śūdra up to the knee. The desired height was rather to be below the knee. Some thirteen unmarked bricks, like those used in the fire-altar, were to be made and laid down over the bones, arranged limb by limb in the sepulchre, the bricks measuring a foot each, one placed in the middle with the front side towards the east which was the position of the trunk, three in front, fitted to the position of the head, three on the right side, three on the left side, and three behind. The pebbles might be used instead of bricks. After that, the grave was to be banked and covered up with soil, on which barley grain (yava) was to be sown. The earthen tomb or mound was finally covered with darbha grass for the sake of softness. The sepulchre was to be enclosed by means of enclosing-stones which resembled those round the fire-hearths.

The bones buried were not calcined or reduced to powder[1], in which case it would not have been possible to arrange them in the sepulchre 'limb by limb'. The Īśopanishad (V. 17) speaks indeed of bhasmāntaṃ śarīraṃ, 'the body reduced to ashes'[2]. The Chāndogya Upanishad (VII. 15. 3) hints at the use of a poker (śūla) for shoving the body in burning it. The Rāmāyaṇa (II. 66. 16) says that immediately after the death of King Daśaratha, his body was placed in a vessel of oil (taila-droṇyāṃ śāyitaṃ). The funeral pile was prepared and the body of the king burned. On the 13th day from the date of cremation, early in the morning, Bharata, accompanied by the priests, walked to the spot of the funeral pile for the collection of bones, and found that it was covered up with a grey heap of ashes (bhasmāruṇaṃ). The Sanskrit Epic has to say nothing as to what was done with those bones. One thing is certain, namely, that no she-animal was burnt along with the body. The spot of the funeral pile was washed with water after the removal of the bones and ashes. The Epic refers to the placing of the body of the king in a vessel of oil but not to the wrapping of it in successive layers of new cloth and cotton wool. This may have been given up when it was thought unnecessary to keep the bones intact. The method of cremation followed was evidently one which would reduce the bones to powder and pieces, and not one

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1 Acc. to Dīgha, I, p. 55, Sūtrakritāṅga, II. 1. 15 : the bones became pigeon-coloured (grey, dull white) as a result of burning on the pile (kāpotakāni aṭṭhīni bhavanti).

2 Cf. Dīgha, I, p. 55 ; bhassanta-āhutiyo.

which would keep them intact. In the absence of any evidence proving the contrary, it may be presumed that the jar with bones and ashes of the king was buried in a pit. The custom of throwing them into a river must have developed afterwards. But that, too, might be explained as a burial, the burial in water.

The results thus obtained may be summed up as follows :—

1. In the first stage, the tumulus was a tomb or sepulchral mound in which the bones unburnt were buried.

2. In the second or śmaśāna stage, the tumulus was a tomb or sepulchral mound in which the bones burnt were buried intact, arranged limb by limb.

3. In the third stage, represented by the Āśvalāyana Gṛihya-Sūtra, the earthen-vessel with the bones burnt and intact was buried.

4 (a). In the fourth stage, represented by the Rāmāyaṇa, the jar with the bones burnt and reduced to powder and pieces was probably buried.

4 (b). In a little earlier stage, as represented by the Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta, not all the remains together but only a portion of them was deposited in a stūpa or mound.

5. In the fifth stage, the bones and ashes came to be thrown into a river along with the jar.

5. Symbolism of the Smasana :—Poetry and philosophy, science and superstition are bound up with the symbolism and rituals of the śmaśāna. The main symbolism of the śmaśāna, as described in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, consists in the idea of making a 'house' or 'monument' to a deceased person. Its sanitary condition is sought to be secured by selecting a site, which is a high and dry ground, with a stream and a lake or pool of water near by. The site, selected either to the south or east or south-east of the village or town, is expected to be pleasant, peaceful, secluded, and, at the same time, exposed to the sky, so that the sun may shine on it. The proximity to those shrubs and trees is sought to be avoided which may do harm to the sepulchre or sepulchral mound. The place is desired to be out of sight from the locality. A stone is set up midway between the two as a means of separating the world of the dead from that of the living. The sepulchre is desired to be arranged south-east and north-west in order that it may be in touch with all the quarters. An earthen tomb or mound is preferred to masonry work for the reason that the bones may be in direct touch with the earth and elements.[1] The body is

1 This is quite in accord with the popular idea current at the time : After death the earthy element goes back to earth, the watery element goes back to water, the fiery element goes back to fire, the mobile element goes back to air, and the senses pass into space (ākāśa). Bṛihad Ār. Upa. IV. 4. 35 ; III. 2. 13. Dīgha I. p. 55 ; Bhela-Saṃhitā, pp. 87, 89.

cremated for the purpose of purification of its remains. The fire-altar is set up as the model of the four-cornered sepulchre, enclosed by stones. The round shape which found favour with the people of eastern India is undervalued obviously for the reason that it did not correspond to the shape of a fire-altar.

The purpose of burying the bones is to hide the sin of the deceased person. The sepulchre is desired to be made not too large but just of a man's size, leaving no room for another man, for no other purpose that that of preventing the spread of contagion of sin (agha). The bones are required to be buried in sepulchres not immediately after the death of persons but a long time after, so that people would forget the sin of the dead. The underlying idea is : 'The wages of sin is death'. The sin of death is sought to be arrested, extenuated and prevented. Accordingly the safety and prosperity and multiplication of the progeny are sought to be secured. As there is, on the one hand, a desire to separate the living from the dead, so there is, on the other, an attempt to separate the world of the Fathers from that of the gods. The thirteen unmarked altar-bricks are placed in the sepulchre with a view to connecting the bodily remains of the deceased with all the months and seasons of the year. Behind the maximum height allowed for the sepulchre of a Kshatriya, of a Brāhmaṇa, of a woman, of a Vaiśya, or of a Śūdra, is the conception of Purusha in the Purusha-Sūkta (Rv. X. 90). The arms in the case of a Kshatriya, the mouth in the case of a Brāhmaṇa, the hips in the case of a woman, the thigh in the case of a Vaiśya, and the feet in that of a Śūdra, are taken to be symbolical of their respective strength.

6. Shape, size, etc. of the Stupa :—The direction of the Buddha in the Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta was a simple direction to erect a stūpa or mound at a public place for the depositing of his bodily remains or of those of a pachcheka-Buddha, or of those of a Disciple, after the manner of a mound erected for depositing the bodily remains of a king of kings, and to put up the whole thing as a chaitya or shrine where the people interested might pay their homage or make offerings in honour of the deceased great man. By this sanction it was easy to raise the stūpas to the position of religious monuments or sanctuaries. The orthodox Brahmanist with whom the 'four-cornered' fire-altar was to determine the shape and size and other paraphernalia of the sepulchre or sepulchral mound was naturally opposed to the idea of the erection of Buddhist stūpas.[1] This opposition was due not so much to his hostility to the Buddhist faith as to his traditional liking for a structure that was modelled on the fire-altar. There were apparently three grave

1 Barhut, Bk. I. p. 81.

reasons for his dislike of the stūpas : (1) That they were round-shaped (parimaṇḍala), and not four-cornered ; (2) That they were a masonry work, made of bricks or stones, and placed above the ground ; and (3) That their height far exceeded the maximum height allowed for the sepulchre or sepulchral mound. The stūpas rather followed the tradition of the people of Asura nature, the Easterns and others. The Brahmanical sepulchres were to be made on a secluded spot, while the stūpas were desired to be made where four cross-roads met. The stūpa was intended to be just one for the depositing of all the remains of one person, but accidentally the remains of the Buddha had to be apportioned, with the result that only a portion thereof sufficed to justify the erection of a stūpa.

The stūpa-models in Barhut sculptures (54, 55) go to show that the fire-altars were not dispensed with, in spite of the fact that the main structure was round-shaped or domic. The fire-altars (described so far as battalions) figure in rows as ornaments on the round of the umbrella-base of the harmikā. They figure in rows also in the upper part of the coping of the main railing. (Figs. 8, 9.)

7. Symbolism of the Stupa :—It cannot be doubted that the earlier stūpas, such as those at Barhut, Sānchī and Sārnāth, appear each at first sight to be an architectural representation of the visible universe, consisting of a vaulted canopy, resting on a circular horizon of the earth. M. Paul Mus would rather seek to establish a parallelism between the Vedic fire-altar and the Buddhist stūpa thus :[2]

Purusha	Buddha
Cosmos = Altar	Cosmos = Stūpa

Accepting this parallelism, suggested by M. Paul Mus, we may, perhaps, understand that an altar was built up as a cosmic form of Purusha when Purusha was conceived as the visible universe in its organic unity, with the earth as its foundation, and when the earth was believed to be four-cornered ; and that a stūpa was built up as a cosmic form of Buddha, when the cosmos was believed to be a dome-shaped structure, which rested on a circular base, bearing Mt. Sumeru on its top. M. Paul Mus has indeed been at pains to show how the idea of Sumeru implied in the harmikā of the earlier stūpas became gradually prominent through the transformation of the harmikā in some of the later mounds.[3]

1 The Nigliva or Nigali Sāgar Pillar Inscription of Aśoka refers to a stūpa of Buddha Konāgamana, which was enlarged by Aśoka in his 14th regnal year. This was undoubtedly a mound in which were deposited the bodily remains of the former Buddha.

2 Barabudur, p. 618.

3 Barabudur, p. 760.

We clearly see that the harmikā or crowning construction of the earlier stūpas underwent a process of transformation, ultimately resulting in a form, which might be taken to be a representation of the successive strata of devalokas, i. e., of Mt. Sumeru. The argument which M. Paul Mus has in his view is that here what was simply implicit in an earlier form became explicit in a later one. We can say this is plausible but not convincing. We may not at all be justified in reading a meaning which became prominent in a later form of the same structural part of the stūpa into an earlier form, which should be taken by itself, or at the most, in relation to what was behind it. Unless the stūpa as a whole represents the personal presence of the Buddha, and the harmikā symbolises the most important part of his physical form, it may be difficult to explain why the umbrellas should be placed over them.

As regards the Barhut stūpa-models, those on the E. Gateway symbolise just an event in the life of the Buddha, namely, his great decease. There are two reliefs (54, 55), each representing a scene of the demise of the Buddha, in both of which the stūpa symbolises not only the event of demise but the very person of the Buddha. Going by the Vedic meaning of the word stūpa, we may rather be inclined to think that the stūpa was to represent the crown of the head of the Buddha,—the ushṇīsha, as it is technically called. The harmikā in particular was to appear as the ushṇīsha on the head of the Buddha which was represented by the dome. From this it may be easy to understand why in the figures of the Buddha, the scene of mahāparinirvāṇa is depicted on the ushṇīsha (i.e., the stūpa on the crown of Buddha's head).[1]

The commentatorial tradition stating that when the Buddha's body was cremated, all but the ushṇīsha, the four teeth (molars) and the two collar-bones were reduced to bits and ashes, suggests that the skull remained intact. Thus this tradition attaches much importance to the ushnīsha of the Buddha which was on the crown of the head, i.e., the Vedic stūpa.

8. The Railing and its symbolism :—Prākāra (=Pali Pākāra) is an Indian term to denote a railing. In Pali, the word Pākāra forms a compound with parikkhepa, meaning 'enclosure'. Thus Pākāra or Prākāra is a railing by

1 Dr. Stella Kramrisch in her suggestive article—Emblems of the Universal Being, Journal, I. S. O. A., Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 148-165), has tried to establish that the ushṇīsha on the head of a figure of the Buddha represents the lokottara sphere of the Buddha, while the remaining portion represents the Buddha-kshetra or sphere of his benign influence.

which something was enclosed,—a tree, a homestead, a shrine, a fort or town. Kuḍḍa (wall) and Pabbata (hill or embankment) were two other means of enclosing a thing or site.[1] Here by prākāra or railing we are to understand the stone-hedge (silāpākāra)[2] by which the Stūpa or central mound at Barhut was surrounded or enclosed. There were in fact two railings one berm (miscalled Outer)[3], on the circular base of the stūpa, and the other, the railing proper (miscalled Inner)[4] which enclosed not only the stūpa with its berm-railing but the open space round it. This space served as a wide path for perambulation. To keep symmetry with the circular base of the stūpa, the railings had to be made circular. The main railing was divided into four segments, each segment forming a Quadrant. Presumably the Berm-railing, too, was divided in the same manner. The builder of the Stūpa was the builder of the mound with its berm-railing, the two together forming one unit. If he were the builder also of the main railing in its original form, that railing must have been of the same pattern with the berm.

The berm-railing, as might be judged from its few remnants, was, upon the whole, a plain structure, bearing as it did a few figures of demi-gods and demi-goddesses, including those of the four Lokapālas, placed as dvārapālas on four sides.[5]

In the first stage, as might be presumed, the main railing was a similar railing "of rough-hewn stone with four quadrants, four entrances, a square coping ... and some statues of demi-gods and demi-goddesses."

Each of the two railings was composed, of course, of a set of four-cornered pillars or uprights, inter-needled by three sets of rails, and covered by a coping (ushṇīsha).

The Śmaśānas or ancient sepulchral mounds, too, were "enclosed by means of enclosing-stones". The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa which refers to these stones does not say how, in which shape, they were actually made. But it may be supposed that in the case of Śmaśānas that were four-cornered like a fire-altar, the enclosure was quadrangular, and in the case of those which were round-shaped or domic, it was circular.

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1 Cf. Dīgha I, p. 78. the oft-recurring phrase tiro-kuḍḍaṃ tiro-pākāraṃ tiro-pabbataṃ, explained in Paramattha-jotikā, I.

2 Buddhaghosa speaks of a silā-parikkhepa around the stūpa built by Ajātaśatru. Sumangala-vilāsini, Part II : samantato giñjakāvasathākārena silā-parikkhepaṃ katvā.

3 Barhut, Bk. I. p. 3

4 Ibid, p. 3.

5

In the second stage, the main railing assumed the form of a Svastika with the addition of four angle-shaped returns, each of which was joined on to the right terminus pillar of a quadrant. All the four such pillars now survive. The purpose of the returns was to cover a direct approach to the stūpa area.

It is probably in this stage that two simple gates were made, on the north and on the south, each of which consisted of two quadrangular pillars without any arch over them. The right terminus pillar, adorned with the scene of relic-procession, came to be recorded as the First Pillar (paṭhamo thabho) which was donated by Chāpādevī, wife of Revatimitra of Vidisā. With the impetus given by her and another lady, Vāsiṭhidevi, wife of Veṇimitra of the same royal family, the main railing became ornamented throughout with full medallions (parichakras), carved on the middle of the pillars other than those which bore the figures of demi-gods and demi-godesses and on the rails, and half medallions in the upper and lower parts of the pillars. The coping was gable-shaped, and uniformly ornamented, on the two sides, with an Elephant-and-scroll work placed between a row of fire-altars (above) and a network of bells (kiṃkiṇījāla, below).

The railing, with its ornamentation, put up the appearance of a covered path or corridor,—a veritable pradakshiṇa-patha or path for perambulation. This symbolism of the railing as a whole is palpable from the very first sculpture on the inner side of the coping, S. E. Quadrant, in which a man walks forward along a path between two ropes, the direction followed being that which a pilgrim was to follow in circumambulating the Stūpa (Fig. 9)

This very symbolism of the Barhut railing in respect of its quadrants came to hold good in respect of its returns when they were fashioned in their final form and sculptured.

9. The Gateway and its Symbolism :—Toraṇa is the only word employed in the inscriptions of Dhanabhūti to denote a gateway: The Kālingabodhi-Jātaka (F. 479) introduces a dvāra-koṭṭhaka in connexion with the Bodhimaṇḍa and its railing (pākāraparikkhepa). The dvāra-koṭṭhaka of which there are some representa tions in the Barhut sculpture is to make an entrance hall rather than a gateway. In giving a description of the city of Sāgala, the Milinda speaks of aṭṭāla-koṭṭak and gopura-toraṇa,[1] while with reference to the city of Kalinga, the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela mentions gopura and pākāra.[2] A toraṇa, such as one connected

1. Milinda. ed. Trenckner, p. 1.

2. See, for other textual references, Coomaraswamy's Early Indian Architecture, in Eastern Art, Vol. II, pp. 214-215.

with the Barhut railing, is a simple construction as compared with a gopura. A toraṇa, in the Barhut sense of the term, is an arch set upon two posts or pillars.

As for the symbolism of the Barhut gateway typified by the E. Gateway, we have already suggested that the effect sought to be produced is that of a 'parapeted bridge over the river of life with hungry crocodiles (? makaras) that lie in wait on its two banks', the bridge being 'the dharmasetu made by the Buddha'.[1] The dharma or doctrine of the Buddha has been compared to a chariot (ratha), to a boat (nāvā), to a raft (kulla),

The chariot is the vehicle to carry all, men and women, recluses and householders, safely and silently to the destination which is Nirvāṇa.[2] The boat or the raft is a means of crossing a stream or a sea, the stream or sea of dreadful existence[3]. The crocodile (kumbhīla, makara, suṃsumāra) is the dreaded enemy that lies in wait when a person goes across a river or a sea.[4] The vehicle cannot freely move on towards the destination if the road is not a highway fitted with a strong and spacious bridge spun over the river or the sea. The text in which the comparison of the dharma with a bridge appears, the boat or raft as a means of going across the river or the sea fades into insignificance. So one reads in the Mahāparinibbānasuttanta[5] :

Ye taranti aṇṇavaṃ saraṃ setuṃ katvāna visajja pallalāni,
kullañ hi jano pabandhati,—tiṇṇā medhāvino janā.

"They who cross the ocean drear
Making a solid path across the pools—
Whilst the vain world ties its basket rafts—
These are the wise, these are the saved indeed".[6]

This is the English rendering of the verse offered by Rhys Davids. The Pali scholiasts explain the word setu (which literally means a 'bridge' or 'causeway') as meaning the Noble Eightfold Path (ariyamaggasaṅkhātaṃ). The sea is the sea of existence through the cycle of births and deaths (saṃsāraṇṇavaṃ), and the stream is the stream of craving to become (taṇhā-saritaṃ). Taking the order of words as it is, we may better translate the verse as :

1 Barhut, Bk. I, p. 10

2 Saṃyutta, I. p. 33 ; Prakrit Dhammapada (Barua & Mitra), p. 98.

3 Sutta-nipāta, Nāvāsutta : Paramatthajotikā, I, p. 21 : nāvā viya dhammo. For kulla, vide Majjhima, I, Alagadda-sutta,

4 Cf. Suṃsumāra-J. (F. 208) ; Vānarinda-J. (F. 51) ; Kumbhila-J. (F. 224).

5 Dīgha, II, p. 89.

6 Buddhist Suttas, S. B. E., Vol. XI, pp. 21-22.

They who cross the sea or stream by making use of the bridge or causeway and avoiding the sloughs, are the wise men who are gone across, whilst the vain world ties just a raft".

We have sought to maintain that the makara or crocodile ends of the three architraves indicate the presence of the stream of water below, and the middle portions of the architraves represent the bridge or causeway. We have also shown that the arch bears a symbolical outline of the life of the Buddha.[1] But no symbol so prominently figures upon it as the symbol of the Dharma-chakra, i.e., of the Noble Eightfold Path.

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1 Barhut, Bk. II, pp. 177-178.

SECTION III

SCULPTURAL DETAILS AND SYMBOLISM

1. Introductory : Rūpa is the Pali word to denote all figures, ornamental or other, carved on different materials, wood, ivory, metal or stone.[1] Rūpakāra occurs indeed as an epithet of one of the many donors of the Barhut railing, and it meant in all likelihood a sculptor.[2] Similarly thapati (Sanskrit sthapati) is employed as a term to denote an architect.[3] The Pali vaḍḍhakī denoted, in a general sense, a builder, and in a narrow sense, a carpenter or wood-carver. A town-builder is called nagaravaḍḍhaki, and a master-builder (lit., bricklayer), iṭṭhakā-vaḍḍhaki.[4] In the Dhammapada-Commentary, vaḍḍhaki is suggested as a synonym of gahakāraka or house-builder,[5] while in the Suttanipāta-Commentary, the art of a carpenter or woodcarver is called vaḍḍhaki-sippa.[6] Chittakāra (Sanskrit Chitrakāra) is just the other term to denote a painter or artist, while his work is called chitta (Sanskrit chitra). The figure artistically produced on the canvas is described as chittakata bimba. Rūpa, too, is the word to denote the figure or picture drawn by a painter or dyer (rañjaka).[7] The word viggaha (Sanskrit vigraha) is reserved for denoting the bodily form of a man, a god, or an animal. Paṭimā (Sanskrit pratimā), meaning an icon or image,[8] is just a synonym of viggaha. The Sanskrit mūrti signifies a form which is possible in rayi or matter.[9]

2. General description of Sculptures : The sculptures of Barhut, like those of other earlier Buddhist monuments, were added mainly as ornamental features of architecture, and as such, they were designed to suit the structural parts of the railing with its later appendages, such parts as : the pillars or uprights, the rails or cross-bars, the coping or upper covering stone, and the pillars or jambs, the lintels

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1 Mahāvamsa, XXX. 97.
2 Barhut Inscriptions, No. 92.
3 Majjhima-Nikāya, II, p. 123.
4 Mahāvaṃsa, XXX. 5.
5 Dhammapada, Jarāvagga, V. 9.
6 Paramattha-jotikā, II, p. 575.
7 Atthasālinī, p. 64.
8 Mahāvaṃsa, XXX. 73 : sarīrāvayavā paṭimā.
9 Praśna-Upanishad, I. 5. mūrtir eva rayiḥ.

or architraves, and the pilasters of the gateways. The sculptures broadly consist of statuettes, Jātaka scenes, and ornamental devices. The Jātaka-scenes and ornamental devices, including many of the statuettes, are carved in low relief, and deserve, therefore, to be called basso-relievo or bas-relief.

The sculptures on the four quadrants of the main railing minus the coping consist of three rows of medallions (parichakras) on the three lines of cross-bars, and three rows of medallions on the uprights, the upper and lower medallions being half or semi-circular, and those in the middle line, full or circular. The medallions on the cross-bars are all full. All the medallions but those which contain the Jātaka-scenes or some such compositions are generally filled with various designs of lotus. The monotony in the symmetry of this arrangement is, to a great extent, relieved by the figurines of minor deities, both male and female, and some additional ornamental devices on the bevelled edges of the uprights.

The sculpture on the coping consists of a conventional creeper-work (latā-karma) or scroll, which is placed between a row of uniformly shaped fire-altars and arched or vaulted lotus sanctuaries above, and a continuous network of bells (kiṅkiṇījāla) below. The creeper bearing lotus-shrubs at each of its joints, proceeds from the mouth of a sitting elephant, firmly set to the ground, as a fictitious elongation of its tongue. Its undulated or serpentine course affords in its curved folds several small panels. These panels on the outer side of the coping are filled with harshly drawn lotus blossoms. On the inner side of the covering stone, they are alternately filled with Jātaka-scenes and ornamental compositions of flowers, fruits, or jewelleries.

The sculptures on the returns are designed in the style of those on the quadrants. Here, in a few instances, the quadrangular panels take the place of medallions. The guarding lion on the outer end of the coping stands as a fine example of early Buddhist sculpture.

Lastly, the carvings on the arch of each of the four gateways are nothing but symbolical or conventional representations of five main incidents in the life of the Buddha : the Nativity, the Renunciation, the Attainment, the Preaching, and the Great Decease. The sculptures on the architraves, on the outer as well as the inner side, are panels representing scenes of worship of the Bo-tree, fictitious or real, by leonine animals, or by men and elephants. The pilasters are adorned with figurines of male and female deities, placed side by side.

We drew the reader's attention to the importance of the Mahāvaṃsa account of the sculptures in the Lohapāsāda and the Relic-chamber of the great Stūpa, built

in Ceylon by King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, in the first quarter of the 1st century B. C.[1] It may be worth while to consider it here in detail for orientation of the sculptures of Barhut that had served as models to all contemporary and subsequent sculptures in India and Ceylon.

The first step taken by the king of Ceylon towards the erection of the shrine was to find out and appoint a master-builder who proceeded with the responsible work entrusted to him with a hearty co-operation of the monks and laity. The sculptural decorations in the Relic-chamber were duly executed under the direction of an expert thera who was set over the work (kammādhiṭṭhāyaka, i. e., navakammika).[2] Ten crores of bricks were required just to construct the plinth in the shape of ten ornamental terraces, only the tenth of which was visible on the surface. Six massive blocks of fat-coloured stone (medavaṇṇaka pāsāṇa) were procured. One of them was laid on the terrace in the middle, four were disposed like walls on four sides, and the sixth was placed as a lid on the east side.[3] All the figures were carved in relief on those stones.[4]

A Bo-tree, splendid in every way, was placed in the relic-chamber. It had a stem eighteen cubits high and five branches. To the east of it was erected a throne (pallaṅka), on which was installed a splendid Buddha-image (Buddha-paṭimā). The eight auspicious symbols (aṭṭhamaṅgalikā) were to be seen on the stem and festoons of flowers (pupphalatā), and beautiful rows of quadrupeds (chatuppadānaṃ panti) and those of geese (haṃsapanti). The border of the canopy, spread over it, was ornamented with a network of pearl bells (muttākiṅkiṇījāla) and chains of bells (ghaṇṭāpanti) and floral bands (dāmāni), here and there. The figures of sun, moon and stars and different lotus flowers were imposed upon it (appitā). Mahābrahmā stood there holding a silver parasol, Sakka with his vijayuttara shell, Pañchasikha with the harp in his hand, Kālanāga with the dancing girls, and Māra with his elephants and train of followers, all together representing the incidents connected with the attainment of Buddhahood by Siddhārtha.

Other incidents of the life of the Buddha, depicted in the relic-chamber, consisted of : the Prayer of Brahmā, the setting in motion the wheel of the Law, the initiation of Yasa, the initiation of the Bhaddavaggiyas, the conversion of the Jaṭilas, the visit of Bimbisāra and the entry into Rājagaha, the dedication of Veḷuvana, the

1 Barhut, Book I, pp. 36-37

2 Mahāvaṁsa. XXX. 98. The Commentary says : sabbaṃ dhātugabbharachanakammaṃ Indagutto nāma mahāthero saṃvidahi.

3 Mahāvaṃsa, XXX. 56-61.

4 Mahāvaṃsa, XXX. 96-97.

Eighty Disciples, the journey to Kapilavatthu and the miracle of the jewelled path, the initiation of Rāhula and Nanda, the dedication of Jetavana, the miracle at Sāvatthi, the preaching of Abhidhamma in the heaven of the Thirty-three gods, the descent from that heaven by a ladder, the questions of Sāriputta at Sankassa, the subject-matter of the Mahāsamaya-Suttanta, the exhortation to Rāhula, the preaching of the Mahāmaṅgala-Sutta, the encounter with the elephant Dhanapāla, the subduing of the Yakkha Āḷavaka, of the robber Aṅgulimāla and the Nāga-king Apalāla, the meeting with the disciples of Bāvari, the Great Decease and the incidents connected with it. The Jātakas, likely to awaken faith, were illustrated in abundance. The Vessantara-Jātaka was depicted fully, and in like manner the dream of queen Māyā and other incidents prior to the attainment of Buddhahood.

At the four quarters stood the figures of the four Lokapālas, the Thirty-three gods, the thirty-two celestial maidens (kumāriyo), and the twenty-eight chiefs of the Yakkhas. There stood also the figures of the minor deities with folded hands (añjalipaggahā devā), the dancing devatās (nachchakā) and the devatās playing instruments of music (turiyavādakā), the deities with mirrors in their hands (ādāsagāhaka-devā), and those holding bunches of flowers and branches (puppha-sākhādharā). There, in like manner, stood the figures of the deities with lotus-blossoms (padumaggāhakā) and so forth in their hands and other devas of many kinds, rows of Triratna and Dhammachakka symbols,[1] rows of sword-bearing devas (khaggadharā)[2] and those bearing pitchers (pātidharā).

In connexion with the Lohapāsāda, the Mahāvaṃsa relates that it was adorned with pillars, made of precious stones and surmounted by the figures of lions, tigers, and so forth, and shapes of devatās. A pearl network ran round the edge of the pavilion below a row of coral vedikās. In the curved folds of a festoon or scroll of gold were fitly placed lotus-blossoms of various kinds, as well as Jātaka-scenes.[3]

3. Classification of Sculptures :—The sculptures of Barhut may be conveniently classified as follows :

(1) Those representing relic-processions ;

(2) Those depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha, past and present, and illustrating Buddhist folk-tales ;

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1 Dr. Geiger renders 'ratanagghiyapanti cha dhammachakkānam eva cha' : 'rows of arches made of gems and rows of dhammachakkas." The Mahāvaṃsa-Commentary also introduces in this connexion, Dhammahārakadevaputtā, he gods bearing the Dharmachakras.

2 According to the Mahāvaṃsa-Commentary, these were set out as moving toys (yantasuttā sañcharanakadevā).

3 Barhut, Bk. I, p. 36.

(3) The statuettes of minor deities, male and female, including those of four Lokapālas ;

(4) The medallions and half-medallions containing lotus and other floral designs ;

(5) The medallions and half-medallions other than those which are filled with scenes frem the life of the Buddha, illustrations of folk-tales, or lotus and other floral designs ;

(6) The figures of deities and fruit and flower designs on the bevelled edges of the uprights ;

(7) The elephant-and-scroll on the coping ;

(8) The network of bells and lotus sanctuaries with fire-altars ;

(9) The leonine figures on the coping ;

(10) The flower, fruit and other ornamental compositions on the coping ;

(11) The figures representing Buddhist symbols ; and

(12) The panels on the architraves of the gateways.

4. **Chronology of Sculptures** :—Nothing could be more correct to premise than this : 'that the Barhut sanctuary was not built in a day, but by successive steps, at intervals and according to opportunities'[1] On the whole, we conceived three main stages in the development of this ancient Buddhist monument from the construction of the mound to the erection of gateways by Dhanabhūti.

The first stage commenced when the mound was built with the berm-railing at its base and enclosed by a railing of rough-hewn stone with four quadrants, both the berm and the main railing bearing the figures of some minor deities, the four Lokapālas in particular.

The second stage commenced when the east terminus pillar of the S. E. quadrant was donated by Chāpādevī and the returns were added to the quadrants.

The third stage was reached when Dhanabhūti erected the gateways with their ornamental arches.

The sculptural decorations on the returns and some of the sculptural additions to the quadrants were almost synchronous with the gateways of Dhanabhūti.

Thus by a process of reduction we are led back to the figures of some minor deities, the four Lokapālas in particular, on the terminus pillars of both the berm and the main railing as the earliest specimens of Barhut sculpture. Other figures were

1 Barhut, Bk. I, p. 32.

carved later, on the model, more or less, of the earlier ones. All the figures of this class, when arranged chronologically, indicate a process of change in the technique as well as in form. Setting up the figure of the sun-god as the earliest among the male figures, and that of Sirimā as the earliest among the female figures, one may notice a process of Indianisation of a north-western type. The second stage, as represented by figures Nos. 58, 60, 62 and 7a, shows that the lower half of the body still conforms to the archetype. And in the third stage, we find that there is altogether a new type (Figs. 64, 81).

Generally speaking, the sculptures on the returns are later than those on the quadrants. The difference in age, implying as it does an improvement in technical skill, will be evident from a comparison between the elephant-and-scroll on a quadrant (figs. 4, 9) and that on a return coping (fig. 10).

The sculptures on two pieces of a Gateway pillar found at Pataora (Figs. 18, 19), appear to be of the same date with those on the returns. The panels on the architraves and statuettes on the pilasters of the gateways mark undoubtedly the last stage of development o the Barhut sculpture.

5. Description of Sculptures, Class by Class :—(1) The four pieces of sculpture representing two successive scenes of a relic-procession form a class or group by themselves, in so far as their subject-matter is concerned. In the first scene, depicted on the coping (Fig. 9a), we see the procession in march. The royal elephant carrying the relic-casket on its head is tastefully caparisoned. The elephant is in a moving gait. The main rider sits in front with the relic-casket before him, while the standard-bearer sits almost near the tail of the animal. The second scene which is depicted on the outer face of the First Pillar of the Barhut railing is one of arrival of the procession at the place where the relic was to be deposited. The sculpture shows that the head of the procession is composed of three caparisoned elephants with three royal personages mounted on them. The leader of the procession is evidently a king who remains mounted on the state-elephant in the middle, placing the relic-casket on the head of the animal and holding it carefully in his embrace (Fig. 17). The tail of the procession is represented by two standard-bearers who are mounted on the back of two caparisoned horses. One of the standard-bearers is sculptured on the inner side of the First Pillar (Fig. 17), and the other, on the outer face of the terminus pillar of a quadrant (Fig. 17a).[1] The wide distribution of the sculptures on different parts of the railing suggests at once an organic unity of the plan of artistic decoration.

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1 Barhut Bk. I, pp. 14-15.

(2) The sculptures depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha, past and present, were intended to work out a well-conceived biographical scheme, complete in itself. Although many of them are now irrevocably lost, the motifs that still survive are considerable in number. The scheme presupposes not only a growing corpus of Buddhist sacred texts but a number of legends and stories, all preserved and handed down by an oral tradition. The corpus of texts was then known as Pañcha-nikāya (the Five Nikāyas), mostly constituted of Suttantas or Discourses in the form of Dialogues. Over and above the Five Nikāyas and Suttantas, the Barhut sculptures presuppose certain Birth-stories which are distinctly called Jātakas in some of the inscribed labels. M. Foucher rightly observed that the literary tradition behind the Barhut sculptures was not necessarily one tallying entirely with the Pali. He went so far as to point out that "the sculptors of Barhut worked not in accordance with a given text, as did those of Borobudur, but according to a living tradition, as it echoed in their memory or was transmitted among them".[1]

The actual identification of almost all the existing bas-reliefs of this class has amply confirmed the truth in M. Foucher's statement.

Our position, however, is that the Buddhist motive behind the sculptures of this class is a plastic representation of the texts themselves. The doctrinal points could not be represented. The results produced were so many symbolical representations referring only to the narrative elements and persons and natural associations in the texts.

By the authority of the biographical scheme in the Chulla-Niddesa, we felt justified in broadly terming all the scenes from the life of the Buddha 'Jātaka', although, in later Buddhist nomenclature, the term Jātaka was restricted only to those Birth-stories which narrated the career of the Bodhisattva in his previous existences. In none of the Barhut labels, the name Jātaka is applied to any scene which depicts an incident of the last historical existence of the Buddha. According to the biographical scheme in the Pali Jātaka-Commentary, the Bodhisattva career starts from the moment of Praṇidhāna and extends up to the moment prior to the attainment of Buddhahood. In this scheme, the narration of incidents of the last existence of the Bodhisattva forms only a nidāna or introduction to the Jātakas proper. The Jātakas, too, are introduced in the form of discourses in which the narrative element predominates over the doctrinal. In each of these discourses, a story of the present serves as an introduction to a story of the past. The stories of the past are strictly

1 The Beginnings of Buddhist Art. pp. 57-58.

the Jātakas. The Barhut convention does not make any nice distinction between the career of Siddhārtha as Bodhisattva and the career of Siddhārtha as Buddha. This convention, which was really established in Aśoka's Rummindeī Pillar Inscription treats the whole of the last existence of the Bodhisattva as the life-history of the Master (Bhagavā).

Going by the Mahāvaṃsa description of Buddhist sculptures in Ceylon, the Jātakas, likely to awaken faith (pasāda-janakāni) were considered fit subjects for illustration. We cannot say that the Jātakas depicted at Barhut were all of the same high standard. M. Foucher is, nevertheless, justified in pointing out that the Barhut list included 'some of the most celebrated Jātakas.'[1] Out of the ten Mahā -Jātakas, contained in the Mahānipāta of the Jātaka-Commentary (F. Vol. VI), the first two and the last three are found illustrated. Many of the Jātakas specifically named in the Chariyā-piṭaka and the Jātaka-Commentary[2] as examples of efforts made by the Bodhisattva to develop the ten Pāramitās or Perfectionary Virtues, e.g., the Vessantara, the Chhaddanta, the Vidhūrapaṇḍita, the Mahābodhi, the Mahosadha, the Ruru, the Mahākapi, the Mahājanaka and the Mūgapakkha, can easily be recognized. The rest may have vanished with the missing portions of the railing, scarcely more than a third of which actually survives.

The sculptures illustrating stories other than those connected with the life of the Buddha are but few and far between. Only one of them is really important as vividly depicting the fateful destiny of the iniquities of a man and a woman in love-intrigue (Figs. 10, 10a).

(3) The statues of the minor deities are all carved in human form and different standing postures. The chief figure in each quadrant is a Lokapāla. The rest are either grouped or distantly associated with the Lokapāla. Among the four Lokapālas, Kubera and Virūḍhaka have been recognised (Figs. 60, 58). As for the figures of Dhṛitarāshṭra and Virūpāksha, they are either missing or remain unrecognised in the two figures (7b, 65) for want of labels. All the labelled male figures but that of Chakravāka Nāgarāja (No 70) are called Yaksha. Among the unlabelled male figures, one represents the Uttarāpatha form of the Sun-god (No. 71), one, Suparṇa or Garuḍa (No. 66), and the rest may be counted as Yakshas. The female figures (Nos. 7a, 19, 68, 72-76, 81-81a) are either Yakshiṇis or Devatās. Some of the male and female figures have vehicles or attributes, some have not. Some of the female figures (19, 73, 75, 76) represent what Dr. Vogel calls the Śālabhañjikā or Tree-and-woman motif. According to the Mahāvaṃsa description,

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1 The Beginnings of Buddhist Art, p. 57. 2 Fausboll, Jātaka, I, pp. 44-47.

they are the deities holding flowers and branches (puppha-sākhā-dharā). Among the female figures, one represented as a lotus-nymph with a harp in her hands (No. 81) must be treated as an ancient prototype of the figure of Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning. Behind all these figures and their setting one has to presuppose a literary tradition, such tradition as may be traced in the Mahāsamaya and Mahā-āṭānāṭiya Suttantas. Even behind some of the individual figures with folded hands (61-64, 70) there were texts, most of which have been traced in the extant Pali Canon.

(4) The Buddhist literature speaks of three main varieties of flowers of the lotus family (padma, paduma) : the utpala, the padma, and the puṇḍarīka, all of which grow in water (udakajātāni).[1] The utpalas are lotuses of an ordinary kind, discriminated as seta (white), ratta (red), and nīla (blue). They are evidently water-lilies that bloom at night. According to Buddhaghosa, the puṇḍarīkas have many hundreds of petals, while the padmas have a hundred petals only (satapattaṃ padumaṃ). The puṇḍarīkas are red[2] and the padmas are white in colour.[3] Counting the padma and the puṇḍarīka together with three varieties of the utpala (water-lilies), the Jātakas make up the total of five kinds of lotus flowers.[4] In the ornament on the outer side of the Bodh-Gayā railing, the five varieties make up a group. At the Jātaka V, p. 37, we have mention of seven species of lotus flowers : three varieties of uppala (blue, red and white), two varieties of paduma (red and white), kumuda (white), and kallahāra (kahlāra).[5] It will be difficult to say that the Barhut lotus blossoms can precisely be reduced to three, five or seven varieties. But there is little doubt that the designs may be easily reduced to certain types. The general principle followed is that they are divided into two or three zones, the central zone being represented by the floral stalk with stamens. In the outer zone or zones sixteen petals are shown, if the blossom is full, and eight, if the blossom is half. In a few instances, the number of petals is twelve, and six in half medallions. The floral stalk with the stamens looks like a rayed disc with an additional lotus or floral composition ; in some, with figures of circumambulating lions or elephants (Pl. XXVII) ; in some, with a band of gems (Pl. XXVI), or of tortoises, or of flowers with bees on them. The lotus medallion representing the flowers with a bee on each

1 Majjhima-N., I, p. 169. Vinaya Mahāvagga, I. Brahma-āyāchana-kathā.

2 The Puṇḍarīkas are rather white than red lotuses (Monier Williams, Sanskrit Dict) . They are described as sahassappattā in the Vimānavatthu Aṭṭhakathā (Pali English Dict., sub voce Paduma).

3 Sumangala-vilāsinī, I, p. 219.

4 Fausboll, Jātaka, VI, p. 333.

5 Cf. Sūtrakṛtānga, II. 3. 18, where one has mention of utpala, padma, kumuda, nalina, subhagaśroṇika, puṇḍarīka, mahāpuṇḍarīka, śatapatra, sahasrapatra, kahlāra, kokanada and tāmrarasa as varieties of lotus.

of them, shows at the bottom a human devotee with folded hands (Pl. X, 7d). There are two examples, in which the Vedic Fire-god (Agni) is represented with two winged steeds. The flames of fire are represented by the shooting leaves of a plant, which grows on a lotus blossom (Pl, XXVI, 22, Pl. XXXIII). There are two interesting examples, in each of which the growth of a lotus shrub in water is skilfully represented. The bulbous root of the plant is carved in the shape of an ornamented pot. In one of them, two geese remain face to face with each other at the top, while in the other, two pairs of geese are busy eating the lotus-stalk from two sides (Pl. XXXII). In one example (Pl. XXXIII), two lotus plants issue forth in two opposite directions from the mouth of a human figure wearing a leaf.[1] In one instance, a human devotee occupies the central zone (Pl. XXVI), and in a few others, we see the sun and the moon represented in human forms, the former as a male god (Pl. XXXI, upper row), and the latter as a goddess holding a mirror (ādāsagāhakā) or a lotus in her hand (padumagāhakā Pl. XXXI, lower row).[2]

(5) The full medallions are important either as containing a geometrical pattern which is not other than the circular plinth of a stūpa (Fig. 4), or a representation of the stūpa of the time (Fig. 4), or a representation of the river goddess Gaṅgā (Fig. 77), or that of Śrī, a popular Hindu goddess (Figs. 79, 80), or that of a dancing pair of Kinnaras (Pl. XXX), or that of a scene of wrestling (Fig. 147), or that of the joy of a Nāgarāja (Pl. XXX), or that of the glory of a peacock (Pl. XXXIII), or that of a makara allowing a fish to move about freely (Pl. XXXIII).

The majesty of the peacock is represented alike in two medallions, only one of which has been reproduced. A duplicate of the figure of the makara is to be found in another medallion, in which the makara alone is represented in the same posture. Gaṅgā figures as makara-vāhinī, precisely as on the Bodh-Gayā railing.[3] Having regard to the fact that three at least among these medallions are found in duplicates, one may be led to think that there were duplicates also of the remaining medallions with slight variations in detail.

There is nothing important to note in the half-medallions at the bottom of the uprights. These are mostly filled with lotus designs.

Among the upper half-medallions of this class, one contains the figure of a bull-faced makara (Pl. XXVI), one that of a trooper (Pl. XXVI), one that of two antelopes running in opposite directions in fear of a garuḍa (Pl. XXVII), and one

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1 Cf. Pl. XXIX, half medallion.

2 Cf. Pl. XXIX, medallions.

3 Barua, Gayā & Buddha-Gayā, Vol. II, Fig 47.

that of a celestial mansion (Pl. XXVII). In the entamblature of one of the half-medallions, one may notice the figures of four rams, the two in the middle facing each other (Pl. XXVI) ; in that of another, two peacocks disposed face to face (Pl. XXVI) ; in that of another, a row of Triratna symbols with a Dharmachakra in the middle (Pl. XXVI) ; in that of another, two elephants are seated back to back (Pl. XXVIII) ; in that of another, two elephant-faced makaras similarly disposed back to back (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 146). In some of these figures, specially in Fig. 146, one may trace the earlier pattern of an ornament extensively used on the inner side of the Bodh-Gayā railing.

The sculptures on the bevelled edges of the uprights are the carvings in which the artist could work without any restraint imposed upon him. These mainly serve as ornamental additions to the medallion and half-medallions on an upright. The result, on the whole, is a continuous and systematic decoration of the two sides of a railing pillar. The flower-compositions consist of lotus, and the fruit-compositions consist of mango-bunches. In the fruit-compositions below the medallions, the bounties of nature are demonstrated, in one example, by parrots (Pl. XXVI), in another, by squirrels (Fig. 7d), and in a third, by a monkey holding a fruit in its embrace (Pl. XXVIII).

In the upper compositions, one will generally notice the standing figures of female deities disposed on lotus blossoms. The deities are represented as holding the bunches of fruits or of flowers (Pls. IV, VI, X, XXVI, XXIX). One example shows the standing figure of a male deity with folded hands (Pl. IV). In one example the standing figures of elephants take the place of human figures (Pl. XXVI).

(7) The elephant-and-scroll in the sculpture on the coping has already been described.

(8) The network of bells and lotus sanctuaries with fire-altars in them have also been described.

(9) The leonine figures occupy some of the panels of the coping. They are so disposed at intervals as to break the monotony of the Jātaka-scenes alternating with the flower, fruit, and other compositions. The figures are introduced as conventionalised imitations of some foreign models. One of the figures bears a bearded human face (Fig. 9c), and one bears the beaked face of a garuḍa (Fig. 3b). Whether hybrid or not, the figures mainly represent some heraldic devices of antiquity.

(10) The fruit, flower, and other ornamental compositions altering with the Jātaka-scenes on the coping are reducible to ten groups or types which were named as follows :—

1. Smaller mango
2. Larger mango
3. Glossy-skinned jackfruit
4. Rough-skinned jackfruit
5. Date-palm-like
6. Anklet-shaped
7. Cloth-and-chain-shaped
8. Earring-shaped
9. Garland-shaped
10. and Necklace-shaped[1]

On reconsideration of the matter we feel inclined to treat the first two groups as one type and call it simply 'Mango'. The third group should be counted as second type and named 'Jackfruit'. The fourth group, now counted as third type, should be called 'Castard apple'. We shall count the fifth group as fourth type and name it 'Date'. With the other changes made, the list will stand as :

1. Mango (Figs. 24a, b, b')
2. Jackfruit (Figs. 24c,c')
3. Castard apple (Fig. 24d)
4. Date (Fig. 24e)
5. Anklet (Fig. 24f)
6. Cloth-and-chain (Eig. 24g)
7. Earring (Figs. 24h, h')
8. Variety (Fig. 24h'')
9. Garland (Figs. 24i, i')
10. and Necklace (Figs. 24j, j')

It will be noticed that the compositions belonging to one and the same group or type are similar but not identical. The changes in detail serve to relieve the monotony of design.

(11) The Nativity, the Renunciation, the Attainment, the Preaching, and the Great Decease are the five main incidents in the life of the Buddha, nay, in the lives of all Buddhas. These incidents are represented on the arch of the Barhut E. Gateway by five symbolical devices (Fig. 13a).[2] The first device representing Nativity consists of two mansions, disposed one upon the other, the upper one being celestial and the lower one earthly. The second device representing Renunciation consists of a horse with a vacant seat on its back, placed under an umbrella. The third device representing the Attainment is constituted of a Bo-tree with a vajrāsana in front. The fourth device representing the Preaching is an ornamental wheel prominently disposed on a lotus-and-fern stand. The fifth device representing

1 Barhut, Bk. I, p. 27.
2 Barhut, Bk. II, pp. 177-178.

the Great Decease is a typical stūpa-model, met with on different parts of the railing. The Triratna symbol, placed on each side of the Dharmachakra, figures as an emblem of the Buddhist Faith.

(12) On each side of the lower or the upper architrave of a Gateway, one is expected to notice a panel, in which the Bo-tree with the throne before it figures in the middle, approached by a herd of elephants from two sides, carrying lotus flowers to make an offering thereof. In one example, we see a royal personage paying his homage with his attendant who stands opposite to him. It may be supposed that the royal personage who is distinguished by his dress (a long coat reaching the knees) is no other than King Dhanabhūti, the donor of the two gateways and two arches. A fictitious representation of the Bo-tree, approached by four leonine animals, two from each side, the three on the right having each a human head and the one on the left bearing the beaked face of a garuḍa, is to be seen on the second or middle architrave.[1] This is interposed between the upper and lower panels obviously with a view to according prominence to them by contrast. Similar panels with much improved technique and greater artistic effect are to be seen also on the architraves of gateways at Sānchī, where, however, the Stūpa takes the place of the Bo-tree on the lower architrave. In the panel on the inner side of the second architrave, we see that the whole animal world is reverencing the Bo-tree.[2]

6. Symbolism :—Symbolism is a method of representation of persons, things, events, thoughts, feelings, ideas, creeds or experiences by symbols, emblems or signs. These symbols, emblems or signs are certain significant forms established by literary or artistic convention, or by both. The monument of Barhut as a whole is nothing but a grand symbolical expression of the Buddhist devotional piety. In the centre of this piety and the feeling which inspired it is the worship of a supreme personality, both human and divine, empirical and transcendental. It is also the worship of all things, either connected with or referrable to that personality. This personality in the purely historical aspect is represented by Buddha Śākyamuni, as he is called in a label attached to the Bo-tree under and at the foot of which he attained Buddhahood or omniscience.[3] Throughout his last existence, he is venerated in the labels as Bhagavā, the Divine Master. His advent on earth (Bhagavato ūkraṃti)[4] at once suggested the possibility of inauguration of a new order of exis-

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1 Barhut Bk. I, pp. 8, 11.

2 Grunwedel, Buddhist Art In India, p. 50 ; Foucher, The Beginnings of Buddhist Art, Pl. VII, Back view of lintels of Eastern Gate.

3 Bathut Inscriptions, No. 141.

4 Ibid, No. 511.

tence through faith (Bhagavato sāsani-paṭisaṃdhi).[1] The new sanctuary or institution which came to be built as a result thereof is the Dhammachetiya in which was installed the Wheel of the Law set in motion by him (Bhagavato Dhamachakaṃ).[2] The festival held in honour of the hair-lock of Siddhārtha in the heaven of the Thirty-three gods is labelled : Bhagavato chūḍāmaho.[3] In one of the labels, the Divine Master is honoured with the epithet of Mahādeva.[4] Mahādeva is, of course, the same epithet as Devātideva (Angel of angels), met with in literature.[5]

The Birth-stories, called Jātakas in the Barhut labels, represent the earlier process of evolution of that personality. This earlier process is that covered by the career of the Bodhisattva who fulfilled some perfectionary virtues, called Pāramis or Pāramitās, each of them in three degrees of intensity. These virtues are otherwise called Buddha-kārakā or Buddha-karaṇā dhammā,[6] the traits or qualities which go to make a Buddha. In Pali, these are counted as ten, and in the tradition of other schools, as six. The starting point of the life of a Bodhisattva is marked by Praṇidhāna,—the moment when a certain gifted individual makes up his mind for the attainment of Buddhahood and makes a firm resolve to that end.[7]

Whether to represent the process of evolution of the Buddha personality, or to represent his attainment, the inauguration of the system, or the perfect state of the persons who gather round him, the only appropriate symbol, sanctioned by literary tradition, is the Lotus. The same is again the most appropriate symbol to signify all things pure, beautiful and majestic in the whole of nature and sentient creation. Thus if there be any single symbolism by which the whole symbolism of Barhut sculptures can be comprehended and characterised, it is the symbolism of the Lotus. But there are other symbolisms, major and minor, which are all subservient to the symbolism of the Lotus. Among these symbolisms, the first and foremost is that of the Elephant-and-Scroll on the coping. The significance of this symbolism lies in the representation of the course of evolution of the Bodhisattva from the moment of Praṇidhāna to the atrainment of Buddhahoood and promulgation of Buddhism.

The next in importance is the symbolism of the worship of the Bo-tree by the lions and elephants on the architraves of the gateways.

The ornamenral devices in the medallions and those on the bevelled edges of the uprights have their own symbolism, which deserves a good deal of reflection.

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1 Barhut Inscriptions. No. 152.
2 Ibid., No. 169.
3 Ibid., No. 165.
4 Ibid., No. 156.
5 Saṃyutta, IV. IVi p. 102.
6 Buddhavaṃsa, p, 13 ; cf. Commentary on the Chariyāpiṭaka.

The symbolism of the Bo-trees, the Vajrāsana, the Stūpa, the emblem of Dharmachakra and Triratna, the Elephant, the Lions, the Antelopes, the Footprints, and the like has a peculiar significance of its own.

7. **Lotus-symbolism** :—The Lotus-symbolism has been explained by competent scholars from the Buddhist as well as the Brahmanical and Hindu point of view. The history of this symbolism is sufficiently long and varied, and it may 'date back at least to 2000 B. C.' The symbolism may be traced in the Egyptian mythology and art where 'Ḥeru-pa-khart (Harpocrates), the child Horus, son of Isis and Osiris, image of ever-young and self-regenerating life, is represented throughout the Ptolemaic period'. The appearance of Lotus-forms in Mesopotamian art is due to 'Egyptian influences'.[1]

In explaining this symbolism in Buddhist iconography, Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy has referred his readers to certain mythological fancies and poetical allegories and similes in the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads, and the Epics, that admit of a cosmological or philosophical interpretation. The suggestions offered on the basis of those textual references may be summarised as follows :

(1) Brahmā, the first member of the Hindu Trinity bears such epithets as 'navel-born' (nābhija), 'lotus-born' (abjaja, abja-yoni), and 'lotus-seated' (kamalāsana, padmāsana), while the recumbent Nārāyaṇa or Vishṇu, the second member, is called 'lotus-navelled' (padmanābha, pushkaranābha).

(2) The concept of the Lotus-birth of manifested creative deity is coeval with that of the Tree of Life. The Tree symbolises 'all existences,' all 'that which is manifest', and the Lotus or its leaf signifies 'that whereon or that wherein there is and can be manifestation'.

(3) The lotus of the heart (hṛit pushkara) is the same as space (ākāśa), while its surrounding petals are the four quarters and four interquarters.

(4) The Lotus is explained to be the Earth, any one plane of being, that whereon and whereby existence is supported.

(5) The Waters signify the possibilities of existence, the Lotus (pushkara) signifies the ground that supports existence, the Angels wait upon a person born with mind and intellect in the Lotus.

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1 Coomaraswamy, Elements of Buddhist Iconography, p. 69, note 30.

(6) Agni (Fire) is born of, reproduced from, and mothered by the Lotus flower or leaf.

(7) The Lotus is the Firmament or Middle Space (antarīksha) which maintains existences.

(8) One text identifies the Lotus with the Earth, extended on the back of waters, as the birth-place (yoni) of Agni.

(9) The Lotus means the Waters, the earth is a leaf thereof, and the same earth is Agni's womb.

(10) The property of the Lotus-leaf is that of upholding all the worlds.

(11) The world-lotus blooms in response to the rising of the Sun 'in the beginning', in answer to and as a reflection of the Light of Heaven mirrored on the surface of the Waters. Through the down-shining of the Lights of Heaven (nakshatrāṇām) the Lotus (puṇḍarīka) is brought to birth.

(12) The wreath of lotuses put on by the Brāhman officiating in the Rājasūya ceremony represents sensible operation, virility, and temporal power (indriyam, vīryam, kshatram).

(13) The Lotus (puṇḍarīka) represents human body with nine gates (navadvāraṃ), in which dwells the Yaksha or Brahman.

(14) The Self, Ātman, is to be compared to the drop of the water that rests on a lotus-leaf, but does not cling to it.[1]

Turning to Buddhist literature and confining our attention only to the earlier texts in Pali and Sanskrit, we find that the symbolism of the Lotus is only implied in certain similes of the lotus flower or leaf. In all these poetical figures of speech, the Lotus is represented as an emblem of beauty, or as that of purity, or as that of moral sensibility, or as that of contrast between the ground of origin and the thing which grows thereon and therefrom, or as that of detachment and transcendentality, or as a means of distinction between one stage of holiness and another. All these emblems are suitably employed to describe and characterise the birth, existence, life, state, experience, and ideal of the Buddha and those of his disciples.

(1) As an emblem of beauty:—We read in the Milinda : "Just as a lotus-flower of glorious, pure, and high descent and origin is glossy, soft, desirable, sweet-smelling, longed for, loved, and praised, untarnished by the water or the mud, graced with

1 Coomaraswamy, Elements of Buddhist Iconography, pp. 17—21, 68—70.

tiny petals and filaments and pericarps, the resort of many bees, a child of the clear cold stream[1]—just so is the disciple of the Noble Ones who in former births has undertaken and practised, followed and carried out, observed and framed his conduct according to, and fulfilled these thirteen vows, endowed with the thirty graces".[2]

(2) As an emblem of purity:—We have it in the Milinda: "Just as water when it has fallen upon a lotus, flows away, disperses, scatters, disappears, adheres not to it. And why so? Because of the lotus being pure from any spot (parisuddha-vimalattā padumassa). So when whosoever are deceitful, tricky, crafty, treacherous, holders of lawless opinions, have been admitted into the religion of the conquerors, it is not long before they disperse, and scatter, and fall from that pure and stainless, clear and faultless, most high and excellent religion, and finding no standing-place in it, adhering no longer to it, they return to the lower state. And why so? Because the religion of the conquerors has been purified from every stain".[3]

(3) As an emblem of moral sensibility:—We read again in the Milinda:— "As the lotus trembles when blown upon by the slightest breeze, just so should the strenuous Bhikshu, earnest in effort, exercise self-control in respect of the least of the evil dispositions, perceiving the danger (in the least offence)".[4]

(4) As an emblem of contrast between the ground of origin and the thing which grows thereon and therefrom: The Milinda propounds: Just as the lotus with a hundred petals, though born of the mud, bears no likeness to it either in colour, or in odour, or in flavour, so the Blessed One who is endowed with 32 major bodily marks of a great man, adorned with 80 minor marks, of golden complexion, with brilliant skin, and radiant with an aureole, is born of parents who are lacking in those marks, and the rest.[5]

(5) As an emblem of detachment and transcendentality:—The Dhammapada teaches: "Him I call a Brāhman (true Arhat) who clings to pleasures of the senses no more than water on a lotus-leaf (vāri pokkharapatte va) or a mustard seed on the point of an awl"[6]

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1 Milinda-pañha, ed. Trenckner, p. 361: Yathā padumaṃ abhivuddha-parisuddha-udichchajātippabhavaṃ siniddhaṃ muduṃ lobhanīyaṃ sugandhaṃ piyaṃ patthitaṃ pasatthaṃ jalakaddama-m-anulittaṃ anupatta-kesara-kaṇṇikābhimaṇḍitaṃ bhamaragaṇa-sevitaṃ sītala-salila-saṃvaddhaṃ.

2 The Questions of King Milinda, S. B. E., Part II, pp. 271-272. Cf. Jaina Sūtrakṛitāṅga, I. 6. 22, II. 1. 24.

3 Milinda-pañha, p. 250. Translation by T. W. Rhys Davids.

4 Ibid, p. 375.

5 Ibid, p. 75.

6 Dhammapada, V. 401. Cf Milinda-pañha, p. 375. Jaina Uttarādhyayāna-Sūtra, XXV. 27.

The same also teaches : Just as in a heap of rubbish thrown on the roadside a lotus grows, fragrant and lovely, even so does a disciple of the perfectly Enlightened One outshines by his wisdom the ignorant masses who are like rubbish, blinded by darkness".[1]

In the Saṃyutta-nikāya, III, p. 140, the Buddha is represented as saying : "Just as a lotus, born in the water, full-grown in the water, rises to the surface and is not wetted by the water, even so the Tathāgata, born in the world, full-grown in the world, surpasses the world, and is unaffected by the world".[2]

The Lalita-vistara puts the following significant reflection into the mouth of Prince Siddhārtha : "The lotuses prosper in a muddy pool, though it is thickly covered by lotus-plants. A being receives honour amongst men, though he lives in the midst of a crowd. When the Bodhisattvas acquire strength in the experience of family-life, it is then that they truly lead millions and millions of beings to the immortal state. Even the Bodhisattvas who were born in the past, all of them had the experience of family-life, and yet they were neither attached to passion-exciting pleasures nor led away from the bliss of lonely meditations. Verily I shall emulate them in these qualities".[3]

(6) As a means of distinction between one stage of holiness and another :— The disciples of the Buddha are expected to be found in four stages of holiness. The Srotāpanna representing the first stage is called Samaṇa-achala. The Sakṛidāgāmī representing the second stage is called Samaṇa-puṇḍarīka. The Anāgāmī representing the third stage is called Samaṇa-paduma. And the Arhat representing the fourth or highest stage is called Samaṇa-sukhumāla[4]

8. Symbolism of the Elephant-and-Scroll :—As already suggested, the sitting elephant from whose mouth proceeds the creeper or floral scroll with its serpentine course symbolises Praṇidhāna or 'the firmness of the will with which the individual becoming a Bodhisattva forms the resolution, while the creeper itself represents the career of the individual as a Bodhisattva'.[5] The Jātaka-scenes and the fruit, flower and other ornamental compositions alternating with each other are not without significance of their own. The former rèpresent the nature of the effort made, and

1 Dhammapada, vv. 58—59.

2 Cited by Coomaraswamy, Elements of Buddhist Iconography, p. 21.

3 Lalita-vistara, ed. Lefmann, pp. 137—138 : Saṃkirṇā paṅki padumāni vivṛiddhimenti I ākirṇa rāja naramadhyi labhāti pūjāṃ II Yada Bodhisattva parivārabalaṃ labhante I tada sattvakoṭiniyutāny amṛite vinenti II

4 Anguttara—N, II, p. 86.

5 Barhut, Bk. I. pp. 100—102.

the latter, the nature of the fruition obtained. In other words, the Elephant-and-Scroll with these Jātaka-scenes and ornamental compositions in the coily folds of the creeper symbolises the earlier process of the evolution of the Buddha-personality through the practice of three chariyās and the development of ten perfectionary virtues (pāramis, pāramitās), dāna (liberality), sīla (moral rectitude), and the rest. The Bo-tree Aśvattha and Vajrāsana, introduced in some of the ornamental compositions, symbolise the attainment of Buddhahood, while the Triratna-symbol figures as an emblem of the Buddhist faith. The efforts made and the fruitions obtained may be classified according to their similarities. But even where they are similar, they are not identical. They vary in detail or in intensity. This has been faithfully represented by the ornamental compositions on the coping (Pls. XXIV, XXV). The doctrine of Charyā and Pāramitā became current among the Buddhists when the Barhut sculptures were carved. The Buddhavaṃsa and the chariyā-piṭaka are the two books of the Pali Canon in which this doctrine found a permanant literary expression.

9. Symbolism of ornamental devices in medallions :—

The Lotus-symbolism is an all-pervasive element. It plays its role in the creeper-work on the coping ; it has its impress also in the medallions and half-medallions. Each medallion is theoretically a lotus-medallion. If the details are absent for want of space, the outline remains to indicate what the medallions, full or half, are. So the symbolism to be discussed and explained here is only a special symbolism within the general symbolism of the Lotus. We shall. therefore, consider first, those medallions and half-medallions in which the lotus is palpably present, and afterwards, those in whtch the presence of the lotus is less prominent or left to be inferred.

(1) In one of the medallions (Pl. XXXIII), we see the Vedic Agni represented on a lotus-blossom. There is no human figuration of the Aryan god as yet. The flames only are represented by the leaves and shoots. Even there is no chariot, though the idea of a chariot is suggested by two winged steeds, attached to the shooting plant on its two sides. A duplicate of the same is to be found in a half-medallion (Pl. XXVI).

(2) In two of the medallions (Pl. XXXII), one may notice the tree of life represented by an imaginary lotus-plant. The bulbous root figures as an ornamented

1 Cunningham, Stūpa of Bharhut, Pl.

pot, out of which the plant grows up. The presence of water and its level are indicated by a pair of geese or swans that rest on a lotus in one instance, and by two pairs of them in the other. In each design, we find three lotuses of the same kind on each side, one of which blooms below the water-level, one rises to the surface, and the third remains above water. The explanation of this particular symbolism lies in a famous utterance of the Buddha, which is met with in such ancient Pali texts as the Majjhima-nikāya and the Vinaya Mahāvagga. In both, the Buddha is represented as saying : "Just as among the uppalas, or the padumas, or the puṇḍarīkas, some are born in the water, grow in the water, and remain submerged in the water, being reared under the water ; some, though born in the water, etc., remain on a par with the water ; and some, though born in the water, etc., remain untouched by the water, rising up above the water, even so, O Bhikkhus, when I surveyed the world with the all-seeing eye of a Buddha, I saw among the beings, some with little defilement and some with much, some possessed of astute faculty and some of moderate, some well-formed and some deformed, some intelligent and some unintelligent, and some of them acting with a clear perception of the fear of the life hereafter and of sin."[1]

In the first medallion, the geese remain face to face as if to signify the joy of a happy pair in nature, while in the other, the geese of each of the two pairs are busy eating the lotus-stalk from opposite sides. Kālidāsa, in giving a poetical description of the movement of the swans towards Mt, Kailāsa in his Meghadūta, says that before they begin their flight through the sky, they gather lotus-stalks as a provision of vegetable food during their long journey (visa-kiśalayachchheda-pātheyavantaḥ)[2].

(3) In one medallion, the bees are seen collecting honey from lotus-blossoms, one from each flower, while a devotee remains with folded hands (Pl. X). This may be taken to signify the ideal of a saint as inculcated in the following stanza of the Dhammapada (No. 49) :

> Yathāpi bhamaro pupphaṃ vaṇṇagandham aheṭhayaṃ /
> paleti rasam ādāya evaṃ gāme muni chare //

"Just as a bee having collected honey, flies away without causing harm to the colour and fragrance of the flower, even so should a muni move about in a locality".

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1 Majjhima. N., I, pp. 169, 277, II, p. 16, III, p. 93.

2 Kālidāser Pākhī by Dr. S. C. Law, p. 4.

(4) In one medallion, the lions (Pl. XXXII), in one, the elephants (Pl. XXXII), and in a third, the tortoises perambulate in the outer zone of a lotus, without trenching upon one another. These may be taken to symbolise a pure state of joy, when the beings of one mind and form are busy performing an act of merit.

(5) In some of the medallions (Pl. XXXI), the Sun-god figures in human bust, the rays being represented by the stamens of the lotus. In some (Pl. XXXI), a goddess figures, either holding a mirror or a lotus in her left hand. The descriptive name of the goddess, as suggested in the Mahāvaṃsa, is 'the mirror-holding deity'. Having regard to the fact that the mirror symbolises 'a thing that reflects other things', and there are stamens to represent rays, there can hardly be any doubt that the divinity is a goddess of the moon.

(6) In one medallion (Fig. 79), the Vedic goddess Śrī remains seated cross-legged on a lotus with folded hands, while two elephants standing on two lotuses on two sides, are pouring water on her head from opposite sides from a jar held up by the trunk of each. In the other medallion (Fig. 80), the goddess remains in a standing posture, placing her right hand on her breast. There is another representation of the goddess in a coping panel (Fig. 80a). In the Bodh-Gayā representation of the goddess (Fig. 80b), the elephants are conspicuous by their absence.

M. Foucher still persists in his interpretation of the motif as a representation of the dream of Māyādevī, which has been ably refuted by Dr. Coomaraswamy. The figure is one of the goddess Śrī, as distinguished from Sirimā (Śrīmatī)[1]. The iconography of the Barhut representation of Śrī is fully explained by the description of the goddess in the Śrīsūkta in the Ṛig-Veda. According to this Sūkta, Śrī "is gladdened by elephants...bathed by elephant-kings, with golden vessels (gajendrair... snāpitā hemakumbhair)···Mother Śrī···the lush, in the lotus lake, the pillar golden... we, thy children, coming forth from the mire (kardamena prajā sṛishṭā) have proceeded to existence···Lotus-faced, lotus-shouldered, lotus-eyed, lotus-born, darling of Vishṇu···Mahālakshmī, lotus-wonted...set down thy lotus-foot within my heart hṛīdi saṃnidhatsva)"[2]. We still incline to think that the' represantation of Śrī bathed by two elephants on two sides is one of heart in relation to the two lungs supplying blood into it from two sides.

(7) In one medallion (Fig. 77), Gaṅgā devatā is riding on the back of an elephant-headed makara in a large river. The representation of makara as the vehicle or attribute of the divinity means that she is veritably a benign

1 Barhut Inscriptions, note on Sirimā.

2 Elements of Buddhist Iconography, p. 71.

goddess of the river vouchsafing protection to the fish and other dwellers of the water.

(8) In one medallion, a big makara remains motionless in water with its gaping mouth. In a duplicate of the same (Pl. XXXIII), the makara figures in the same posture, allowing a fish to freely move about it, even to enter and come out of its jaws without any fear. This may be taken to suggest the ahiṃsa moment in nature when the victim and victimiser rejoice together, with their attention fixed on the glory above.

(9) The dancing Nāgarāja, waited upon by two Nāga mermaids from two sides (Pl. XXX) represents the joy of worldly prosperity. The dancing pair of Kinnaras (Pl. XXX), represents the innocent joy of those who live in a state of nature. And the king of peacocks with his outspread tail and two other peacocks kissing his feet with their beaks from opposite sides (Pl. XXXIII) may be taken to symbolise the Buddha with his two chief Disciples. In the Bāveru-Jātaka, the Buddha in all his glory is compared to the Peacock at whose advent the crow lost all its gain and honour.

10. Symbolism of ornamental devices on bevelled edges of uprights :—The symbolism of these devices is very simple. It is either one of demonstration of the bounties of nature or one of pure worship. The former is represented by the bunches of fruits with monkeys, squirrels, or parrots on them (Pls. VI, X, XXVIII). The latter is represented by the standing figure of minor deities, male and female, disposed, in one instance, on the heads of Nāgarājas (Pl. XXXV), and, in other examples, on lotus flowers. The male figure remains with folded hands, and the female figures (who are either devakumāris or nāgakanyās) are plucking flowers or bunches of fruits for an offering at the Buddhist shrine (Pls. IV-VI, IX, X, XXXV, XXXVI, XXIX).

11. Symbolism of Bo-trees :—The Bo-tree Aśvattha on the architrave of the gateways symbolises primarily an incident in the life of Buddha Sākyamuni, namely, the attainment of Buddhahood. In other representations (Figs. 26-32), the Bo-trees symbolise each not only a particular incident but the entire life and personality of a Buddha, and, as such, receive all the honour and homage due to the Buddhas themselves. They also stand as living emblems of the Buddhist faith and the history of its expansion.[1]

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1 Barhut Inscriptions, pp. 43-44 ; Barhut, Bk. I, pp. 40-52 ; Bk. II, pp. 1-7.

12. Symbolism of Vajrasana :—The vajrāsana, as represented in the Barhut sculpture, appears to be a cubical seat, made of a solid block of stone. This is in no way different from seats placed before other tree-shrines (Figs. 89, 108, 124a, 142). The seat is intended to serve the purpose of a vedikā or altar for making offerings. The vajrāsana is a vacant seat, which symbolises the physical presence of the Buddha (Figs. 37, 41, 46-48, 51, 56f, 69). As placed before a Bo-tree, it stands as an emblem of the firmness of will and the moral strength of human character. The firmness of will with which Siddhārtha sat down to meditate at the foot of the Bo-tree is well-described in the Lalita-vistara :

> Ihāsane śushyatu me śarīraṃ,
> tvagasthimāṃsaṃ pralayañ cha yātu,
> aprāpyabodhiṃ bahukalpadullabhāṃ,
> naivāsanāt kāyamatat chalishyate.[1]

10. Symbolism of Dharmachakra :—The Dharmachakra figures in two reliefs (Figs. 13a, 44) as an emblem of Buddha's First Preaching, and in two (Figs. 52, 53), as an emblem of the Dhammachetiya-Sutta. The Dhammachetiya is a sanctuary of the Religion of the Buddha, which has both a doctrinal and an architectural significance. At Barhut, the Dhammachetiya is represented as a sanctuary with an ornamented wheel installed in it. The wheel represents the personality and presence of the Buddha. In Fig. 53, the wheel with sixteen spokes is set upon a pillar with two antelopes on its capital. And in Fig. 13a, the same is set upon a fern-like plant with eight leaves, which grows on a lotus- flower. It is certain that the Barhut wheel is not the Wheel of Life which, according to the Divyāvadāna, represents the five destinies of beings.[2]

14. Symbolism of Four Lions :—The symbolism of Four Lions on the capital of Barhut Gateway pillars (Fig. 13a) is the same as that of Four Lions on the capital of Aśoka's Sārnāth Pillar. The best explanation hitherto offered of this symbolism is that the Four Lions represent the lion's roar with which the disciples of the Buddha were inspired by the Master himself to declare that all the four types of ideal recluses,—the first, the second, the third and the fourth,—were to be found in their holy Order, to proclaim, in other words, the superiority of Buddha's religion.[3] The lions with gaping mouth represent the lion's roar also in Fig. 116.

1 Lalita-vistara, ed. Lefmann, p. 289.
2 Barhut, Bk. I, pp. 92—93.
3 Majjhima-N., I, pp. 63—64 : Idh' eva bhikkhave Samaṇo, idha dutiyo Samaṇo, idha tatiyo Samaṇo, idha chatuttho Samaṇo, suññā parappavādā Samaṇehi aññehi ti evaṁ bhikkhave sammā sīhanādaṁ nadatha.

15. Symbolism of Elephants :—The Elephant figures in the Barhut scene of the Dream of Queen Māyā (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 35), as well as on the capital of Aśoka's monolith (Figs. 32 and 50). As explained in Book I, p. 55, the Elephant in Fig. 35 may be taken to symbolise "the cloud which pours down rain carrying the seeds of life"[1], and also to suggest the fœtus in the womb. Explained in the light of the *Kālingabodhi-Jātaka*, the elephant on the nonolith of Aśoka, set up at Bodh-Gayā, stands as an attribute of kingship which falls far short of the attribute of Bodhi.

16. Symbolism of Footprints :—The footprints are nowhere set up as objects of worship on their own account. They are semi-iconic in import, suggestive of human figure of the Buddha. They are introduced just to meet the exigency of a narrative art, in one example, to represent the stepping out of the palace by the Bodhisattva (Fig. 18) ; in one example, to represent the descent of the Buddha from the heaven of the Thirty-three by a ladder (Fig.48), and in two instances, to signify the act of pādavandanā (Figs. 37,51).

17. Symbolism of worship of Bo-trees by gods, men and animals :— There are six reliefs (Figs. 26, 28-32) in which the gods, male and female, appear as devout worshippers of the Bo-trees. Two of the panels on the architrave of a gateway contain such a scene of worship of the Bo-tree of Buddha Śākyamuni by two men and a herd of elephants. In the panel of the lower architrave of E. Gateway, however, only a herd of elephants is to be seen as carrying lotus flowers to make an offering thereof at the Bo-tree, while in the panel of the middle architrave, a fictitious Bo-tree is approached by four leonine animals, three of which bear human faces, and one bears the face of a garuḍa (Fig. 13a). Turning to a Sānchī gateway, we notice that in a similar panel the whole 'animal kingdom is represented adoring the holy fig tree' (Grünwedel, Buddhist Art, Fig. 26). In it, one may note that the contraries in nature, such as garuḍas and snakes, lions and rams, rush towards the Bo-tree, forgetting the incompatible relation between them.

The symbolism implied in these scenes of worship has a twofold significance : (1) that it suggests the unsurpassed greatness of a Buddha, and (2) that it suggests a universal trend of evolution in nature towards perfection through the attainment of Bodhi which is possible in man, and man alone. Probably in the remote historical background of the worship of the Bo-tree (i.e., of Buddha) by the animal kingdom is the Mohenjo-daro figure of Śiva as Paśupati or Lord of beasts (Marshall, Mohenjo-daro, Vol. I, p. 52., Pl. XII).

1 Cf. Coomaraswamy, Elements of Buddhist Iconography, p. 72, n. 45.

SECTION IV

ASPECTS OF LIFE

1. **Introductory** :—The primary interest of the sculptures of Barhut is that through them one may, at one glance, have a view of almost all the important aspects of Indian life. These plastic representations derived indeed this intrinsic value from the Jātakas that constituted a magical gem affording a panoramic view of all persons and of all things worth seeing. The Vidhūrapaṇḍita-Jātaka (F. No. 545) contains the following list of persons and things to be seen in and through this gem :

(1) Bodies of men and women, beasts and birds, nāgarājas and suparṇas (garuḍas).

(2) Elephant host, chariot host, horses, foot-soldiers, and banners : elephant-riders, the king's body-guard, warriors fighting from chariots, those fighting on foot, and troops in battle array.

(3) Well-laid city with many gateways and walls, pillars and trenches, watch-towers and gates.

(4) Various troops of birds in the roads under the gateways : geese, herons, peacocks, and the rest.

(5) Marvellous city with grand walls, decked with banners, the hermitages divided regularly in blocks, and the different houses and their yards.

(6) Drinking shops and taverns, slaughter houses, cooks' shops, harlots and wantons, garland-weavers, washermen, astrologers, cloth-merchants, gold-workers and jewellers.

(7) Various musical instruments : drums and tabours, conchs, tambours and tambourines, cymbals, lutes (harps), and gongs.

(8) Amusements and diversions : dance, song, instrumental music, feats of jumpers and wrestlers, jugglery, ballads and comics.

(9) Mountain slopes with troops of various deer, lions, tigers, boars, bears, wolves. hyenas, rhinoceroses, gayals, buffaloes, red-deer, rurus, antelopes, dogs and cats, spotted kadalī-deer and rabbits.

(10) Rivers well-situated, clear with flowing waters and filled with quantities of fishes, crocodiles, makaras, śiśumārs, tortoises, and the like.

(11) Lakes filled with quantities of birds and abounding with fish with broad scales.

(12) The sea-girt earth diversified with trees.

(13) Four continents.

(14) Sun, moon, Mt. Sumeru and Himavat, the great sea and four Lokapālas.

(15) Beautiful parks and forests, crags and mountains, full of strange monsters.

(16) Indra's gardens, his palace Vejayanta, his council-hall Sudhammā, his elephant Erāvaṇa, the heavenly tree Pārichchhatta in full flower and heavenly maidens.

(17) Six Kāmāvachara heavens and their dwellers and many heavenly mansions.

(18) Various rows of flowers of different hues, variegated with blue lotuses.[1]

2. **Men and Women** :—It may be generally assumed that human beings have played the main part in the Barhut drama of life. Here we are to consider what classes and sorts of men and women they are, and how they are represented. Among men, some are found to be kings and other royal personages, some Brahmins and other holy personages, some bankers, merchants and traders, and some a common run of people. Among women, some are found to be queens and maids of honour, some housewives, and some courtezans.

A king or prince appears with his two attendants as the leader of the relic-procession (Fig. 17). King Dhanabhūti, the donor of the gateways, figures with an attendant on one of the architraves (Figs. 16, 16a). Other kings and royal personages play the role of dramatic personæ in various scenes from the life of the Buddha. King Kaṇḍarī, for instance, figures with his queen Kinnarā in Scene 112 (Pl. XXII) ; King Ajātaśatru with Jīvaka, the physician and courtier, in Scene 51 ; King Prasenajit with the four divisions of his army in Scene 52 ; King Mahādeva of Videha with his son, the crown-prince, and his barber in Scene 87 ; and King Janaka of Videha with his queen Sīvalādevī in Scene 135. There are a few other scenes, in which the kings and other royal personages play their part. In two of them, the king is to be seen seated on a throne (Figs. 125, 133), and in one, a king triumphantly enters a newly-conquered city (Figs. 101). Prince Jeta figures in

1 Summarised from the English translation of the Jātaka, Vol. VI, by Cowell and Rouse, pp. 135—136.

the scene of dedication of Jetavana (No. 45), while Queen Māyā appears with the attending maids in her bed-chamber (Figs. 35, Pl. XXVI).

It is impossible to distinguish the Brahmins acting as royal chaplains and courtiers from other persons attached to a royal court (Figs. 95a, 130). In two of the scenes, the Brahmin is represented as a person without any head-dress (Nos. 69, 99). But there is neither the śikhā nor the sacred thread to distinguish him at once from other persons. Among other holy personages, one is a Pratyeka Buddha (Scene 143), one is a Parivrājaka (Scene 132), one is a chammasāṭaka khāribhāra Parivrājaka, wearing a garment of skin and carrying a banghi-load (Scene 111), one is a typical Ṛishi (Scene 131), one is a Dīrghatapasvī (Scene 104), and the rest are common Jaṭilas or ascetics with matted hair (Scenes 38, 106, 113, 121, 127, 130, 134, 138, 141).

Among the bankers, Anāthapiṇḍika prominently figures as a donor of the Jetavana monastery (Scene 45), and Mahaushadha, son of Śrīvarddhaka, as a wise and witty settler of disputes (Scene 137). Vasugupta figures as a sea-going merchant (Scene 86). A caravan merchant is to be seen in Scene 86. A honey-seller figures in Scene 143, and a shop-keeper in Scene 145.

Among the common run of people, one is a householder (Scene 102), one a gardener (Scene 95), one a barber (Scene 87), one a fletcher (Scene 135), one a needle-maker (Scene 120), one a deer-hunter (Scene 130), one a boar-hunter (Scene 146), one an ivory-collector (Scene 128), one a fowler (Scene 93), two are wrestlers (Scene 147), two gamblers (Scene 96), one is a cartman and a few are bricklayers (Scene 45). From kings to peasants, all are represented bare-footed. All men other than holy personages wear turbans as their head-dress and jewelleries as personal ornaments with the exception of anklets and girdles. The ascetics other than the Pratyeka-Buddha show matted-hair on their head and loin-cloth on their body. Only in one example, a Ṛishi shows long beard and moustache. In the remaining instances, the face of men appears to be clean-shaven. All women wear anklets and girdles along with other jewelleries, put on scarfs as a covering for the head, and stand without any covering for the bust. The wrestlers, of course, have nothing else on their person as a covering than a loin-cloth (Scene 147).[1]

3. Gods and goddesses:—Among the gods, the four Mahārājas play the part of lokapālas or guardians of the four quarters, each quarter being represented

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1 This corrects the reading of the scene in Barhut, Bk. II, p. 171, No. 6.

by a quadrant of the railing, berm or main. Dhṛitarāshṭra, the lord of the Gandharvas, is the guardian of the eastern quarter, and here, the warden of S.E. quadrant and keeper of the southern gate. Virūḍhaka, the lord of the Kushmāṇḍas or Dānava-rākshasas, is the guardian of the southern quarter, and here the warden of S. W. quadrant and keeper of the western gate. Virūpāksha, the lord of the Nāgas, is the guardian of the western quarter, and here, the warden of N. W. quadrant and keeper of the northern gate. And Kubera, the lord of the Yakshas, is the guardian of the northern quarter, and here the warden of N. E. quadrant and keeper of the eastern gate. Two of them, Dhṛitarāshṭra and Virūpāksha, are either missing or have not been identified yet for want of labels. Virūḍhaka stands with clasped hands on a rocky ground in the appearance and costume of a man (Fig. 58). Kubera stands in a similar attitude and appearance on the shoulder of a man, bent under his weight. Both of them, who are to represent prototypes of Indian doorkeepers, appear by the attitude of their folded hands and manner of wearing the upper garment as typical Buddhist devotees in a standing posture. Kubera figures as a typical naravāhana, with a man as his vehicle or attribute (Fig. 60).

According to settings suggested in the Āṭānāṭiya-Sutta, Dhṛitarāshṭra is to guard the eastern quarter with the aid of Sūrya (his general), seven constellations and eight devakumāris ; Virūḍhaka is to guard the southern quarter with the aid of Yama (his general), seven constellations and eight devakumāris ; Virūpāksha is to guard the western quarter with the aid of Varuṇa (his general), seven constellations and eight devakumāris ; and Kubera is to guard the northern quarter with the aid of Maṇi-bhadra (his general), eight constellations and eight devakumāris. It is difficult to think and say that these directions have been strictly followed. Some generals or lieu-tenants are here : some heavenly bodies, including sun and moon, are here ; and some devakumāris are here. Keeping the literary tradition in the Āṭānāṭiya-Sutta in view, one can understand why the four Lokapālas stand waiting upon the Buddha; showing reverence to him[1]. There is a Uttarāpathaka (North-western or Persian form of Sūrya, Mihira, Persian Mehṛ) with avyaṅga and high-heeled boots and armed like a soldier. The attitude is one of a sentinel on duty, standing easy by way of saluting a superior person whose presence is felt (Fig. 71). A Nāgarāja, called Chakravāka, appears among the generals, with a five-hooded cobra-head rising from behind his head, and in a human form in rest of the features. He stands gravely with clasped hands as a prototype of tutelary deities of rocky pools (Fig. 70). He may be taken to be a Barhut type of Varuṇa mentioned in the Pali Sutta. A Yama is also to be found

1 Buddhist India, p. 220.

here under the name of Yaksha Ajakāla or Ādyakāla, though associated with the figure of Kubera (Fig. 61). He, too, figures in a human form and remains standing with some offerings in his right hand on the head of a human-faced or tiger-faced quadruped, while at Bodh-Gayā he stands on the back of a ram with a big bunch of lilies in his right hand (Barua, Gayā & Buddha-Gayā, Vol. II, Fig. 20).

Whether labelled or not, the remaining generals may be taken to be all yakshas and prototypes of tutelary deities. First, we have a standing figure of Gaṅgita or Gāṅgeya with folded hands, in the attitude of a worshipper. His feet rest partly on the back of an elephant and partly on the top of a tree (Fig. 62). Next we see a similar figure of Sūchiloma, standing on a railing-like structure (Fig. 63), but which may be just a Barhut representation of Ṭaṃ-kita-mañcha, mentioned in the Sūchiloma-Sutta. Thirdly, here is a standing figure of Supravāsa, in a similar attitude of worship, with an elephant as the vāhana or attribute (Fig. 64). Of the remaining three Yaksha figures, one stands with a flower in the right hand with a human-faced and fish-tailed attribute (Fig. 65), one stands with two hands raised (Fig. 67); and one stands with folded hands on the ground (Fig. 7b). Here is also an interesting figure of Suparṇa or Garuḍa, represented as a human being with the head of a bird. He stands with folded hands in the usual attitude of a Garuḍa (Fig. 66)[1].

Alongside of these male gods, here are figurines of goddesses, distinguished as yakshiṇis and devatās. First, we have a figure of Chandrā Yakshī with a horse-faced makara as her attribute. She is represented as a woman raising her right hand among the branches of a tree to pluck its blossoms (Fig. 73). Next, we see a figure of Yakshiṇī Sudarśanā standing on the back of an elephant-faced makara (Fig. 74). One Yakshiṇī remains standing on the back of an animal-faced makara (Fig. 68), one on the heads of three lions (Figs. 82, 82a), while another yakshiṇī is being raised up by a man from the ground on the palm of his hands (Fig. 72). The last-mentioned three figures are evidently represented as performing a gymnastic feat, which formed a part of the programme of Barhut samajjā. The yakshiṇi with a man as her attribute may be named Alakamandā.

Among the devatās, one is called Chūlakokā (Fig. 75), one may be called Majjhimakokā (Fig. 76), and one Mahākokā (Fig. 19). Mahākokā is represented as plucking the blossoms of a tree from the ground, Majjhimakokā from the back

1 The outline of the neck and the curve of the head which is broken clearly suggest the idea of a bird-head. The neck has no depression and in this respect it differs from the human head.

of a horse, and Chūlakokā from the back of an elephant. All the three of them are tree-spirits. Besides the three kokās, we have a standing figure of Sirimā (Śrīmatī) with a flower in her right hand[1], now broken (Fig. 78).

Here is a slightly different type of the same goddess with a bunch of water-lilies in her left hand (Figs. 7, 7a). The Lalita-vistara and Mahāvastu versions of the Āṭānāṭiya-Sutta mention four types of this goddess : Śrīmatī, Lakshmimatī, Yaśaḥprāptā, and Yaśodharā, all of whom are relegated to the southern quarter. It is possible that all the four types were represented at Barhut, each type having been placed in a quadrant. These goddesses were to stand as prototypes of ideal housewives.

Here are three typical figures of Śrī, in one of which the goddess remains seated with folded hands on a lotus blossom (Fig. 79), in one in a standing posture (Fig. 80), and in the third, in one of these two postures (Fig. 80a). Āśā (Hope), Śraddhā (Faith), Hrī (Modesty). and Śrī (Luck) are the four Graces, all daughters of Śakra. who are to be relegated to the northern quarter according to the Lalita-vistara and Mahāvastu versions of the Āṭānāṭiya-Sutta. It is difficult to say if all the four Graces were represented at Barhut and typically distinguished, in spite of the fact that there is a clear difference in action and posture between the two figures, 79 and 80.

Here is to be seen also a figure of Gaṅgā who is represented typically as makara-vāhinī (Fig. 77). Here is another figure of a goddess who is represented as standing on a lotus blossom with a large vīṇā held between her two hands. Going by her description in the Vimānavatthu, she may be called Padumachchharā or Lotus-nymph. But there is little doubt that here it stands as a Barhut type of Sarasvatī, the goddess of æsthetic culture.

The devaputras or sons of the gods figure on the bevelled edges as devotees with folded hands (Fig. 4), while the devakumāris appear as persons plucking the blossoms or bunches of fruits, standing upon the lotus flowers (Figs. 4-6, 7c, 7d, Pl. XXVI, Pl. XXIX). That the devakumāris include Śrīs among them is evident from their cognizance, the elephants separately disposed on lotus blossoms (Pl. XXVI).

Now let us see how the various angels, gods and goddesses play their part in different scenes from the life of the Buddha, who they are, and how they are represented. First, in the scene of Bodhisattva's Descent (Fig. 35, Pl. XXVI), the wives of the Lokapālas serve as attending maids of Māyādevī. In the next

1 Cunningham, Stūpa of Bharhut, Pl. XXIII. 2 ; Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 216, Fig. 36.

scene (Fig. 37), the angels headed by Arhadgupta are come to pay their homage to the child Bodhisattva. Here they sit in various kneeling postures with folded hands, donning their upper garment after the manner of Buddhist worshippers. The part played by Arhadgupta is assigned in the Lalita-vistara to Maheśvara. The same Arhadgupta appears at the head of other angels in another scene (Fig. 18) to see the Bodhisattva safely conveyed out of the royal palace and out of the royal city. In the same scene, we see Rājalakshmī in the same two attitudes of her hands in which the goddess Śrī is represented (Figs. 79, 80). In scene 39, 'Śakra figures at the head of all the gods and goddesses of the Heaven of the Thirty-three in celebrating a festival in honour of the hair-lock of the Bodhisattva. The palace and council-hall of the king of the gods are shown with a musical performance, in which the Gandharvas (heavenly musicians) and nymphs take part (Fig. 39). This is followed by a scene, in which figure, all in a human form, the angels of Śuddhāvāsa or Pure Abodes, the three other classes of Rūpabrahmas, the gods of the six Kāmāvachara heavens, and two Nāgas, while Māra, a Paranirmitavaśavarttī god, sits down dejected at a corner (Fig. 33). In the scene below, the three groups of nymphs, Alambushā and the rest appear, one group dancing, one singing, and the third playing vīṇā (Fig. 34). Śakra stands as the heavenly prototype of earthly rulers, the Gandharvas stand as prototypes of ministrels among men, and the nymphs as those of human courtezans.

Just in the scene above (Fig. 32), the gods and goddesses are worshipping the Master whose seat is seen in front of the Bo-tree Aśvattha. Two of the tree-spirits are represented as whistling out of joy, while two Vidyādharas remain poised in the air, holding garlands.[1] The Vidyādharas are represented as hybrid creatures 'with human busts, Indian head-dress and ornaments', and 'the bushy tail, intended for that of a peacock,...treated decoratively'. Grünwedel rightly points out that "they appear flying from both sides towards the holy places—stūpas, footprints, sacred trees, &c., and are hanging offerings upon these objects of worship" (Figs. 47, 48, 54, 55). The Vidyādhara figures also on the head of a banner, used at the time of the relic-procession (Figs. 17, 17a). The gods and goddesses appear as worshippers of other Buddhas who are similarly represented by the Bo-trees and Vajrāsanas (Figs. 26-31).

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1 They must be Vidyādharas. For we read in the Jātaka Nidāna-kathā (Fausboll, Jātaka, I.): Vijjādharā gandhamālādihatthā mahāpurisassa santikaṃ Bodhirukkham agamiṃsu.

Subrahmā, called Brahmadeva in the Barhut label, comes down from his heavenly mansion, mounted on a heavenly elephant Airāvata, to congratulate the newly enlightened Buddha, while Māra stands sad and dejected (Fig. 41). Śakra figures again with his harper Pañchaśikha at the Indraśāla cave as a listener to a religious discourse (Fig. 56). Attention might be drawn also to a few other scenes from the life of the Buddha, in which the higher deities figure either as worshippers (Figs. 54, 55) or as listeners to religious discourses (Figs. 47, 48).

In scene 69, a Nāgarāja. called Erāpata in the Barhut labels, appears first in his natural form as a snake with a five-hooded cobra-head, and next in a human form with the cobra-hood rising from behind his head. He is followed by his wife and daughter who as females are distinguished by a single-hooded cobra-head. Erāpata is hurrying to the place where the Master was sojourning. Another Nāgarāja, called Maṇikaṇṭha, is also to be seen in his natural form in Scene 106, while in a medallion in Pl. XXX, a Nāgarāja is dancing in a human form with a similar five-hooded cobra-head, waited upon by two mermaids from two sides. Another Nāgarāja in his natural form is shown in a lake beneath the Trikūṭa rocks (Fig. 83).

Śakra appears in disguise as a man in a crematorium, uttering a lion's roar (Scene 116). In the same scene, we see the hideous figure of a Bhūta or Piśācha. Śakra also plays the part of a stealer of lotus-stalks (Scene 127). A Vidyādhara, son of Vāyu, figures in a purely human form in Fig. 123, Pl. XXII, while a Dānava-rākshasa appears as the central figure in a comic scene of monkeys (148c). A happy Kinnara couple is represented as dancing sportfully in a medallion in Pl. XXX, and as trembling when brought into the presence of a human king (Scene 125). Among the tree-spirits, one is represented as offering a dish of food to a saint with a jug of water, stretching the hands from the trunk of a rose-apple tree (Scene 140). And lastly, the Yaksha Pūrṇaka, a nephew of Kubera, is riding a sky-going horse carrying the wiseman Vidūra to a Nāgaloka (Scene 136).

4. **Beasts, birds, and other creatures** :—Among the beasts, the lions come first for consideration. They serve as an ornamental device on the bell-capital of Aśokan pillars, the tradition of which is maintained in Barhut sculptures (Figs. 4, 13a, 13b, 54). The leonine figures with human, lion or garuḍa faces and represented in various postures are devices utilised in relieving the sense of monotony and improving the tone of rhythm in art. The lion's roar is represented by four lion-heads with a gaping mouth (Figs. 54, 116). The lions also appear as an attribute of a Yakshiṇī,

who may be accordingly named Siṃhikā (Figs. 82, 82a). These are all so many conventionalised and archaic representations of the king of beasts. The truly lion-like and animated figure is one carved in Fig. 3. Their playful movements are depicted in one of the medallions (Pl. XXXII).

The tigers come next to play their role of killing deer on their grazing ground (Fig. 108). The tigers and bears peep out through their rocky dens (Figs. 55, 70). A tiger or wolf is hanging from a post after having been caught in a trap, called vāḷasanghātayanta in Pali (Fig. 109).

The elephants offer a most favourite subject for the Barhut artists who have represented them with a first-hand knowledge of their classes, lives and habits. The Airāvatas as mounts of the gods and angels stand as prototypes of the royal elephants (Pl. XXII, Figs. 17, 41, 51, 52, 53, 101, 138). They serve as attributes of a few male and female deities, Yakshas and Devatās (Figs. 62, 64, 75), and as cognizances of the popular goddess Śrī (Figs. 79, 80, 81, Pl. XXVI). The Bodhisattva descends to the earth in the form of an elephant,—a shaḍdanta according to tradition (Fig. 35). The whole scroll design starts from the mouth of a sitting elephant (Figs. 9, 10). The elephant stands as a Buddhist emblem on Aśokan pillars (Figs. 32, 50). The shaḍdanta as a superior class of elephants for ivory is represented by name in fig. 128. They are presented in various positions, postures and actions. But nowhere else they have come out so beautiful than in their roamings in a forest (Fig. 141c), and in those panels where they as a complete herd are either living attached to a great banyan tree (Fig. 142), or resting near the Trikūṭa rocks (Fig. 83), or carrying lotus flowers to lay at the shrine of a Bo-tree (Figs. 16, 16a). Their playful movements are shown in a medallion in Pl. XXXII.

The horse makes rather a poor show as compared with the elephant. The animal appears on the Barhut gateways as a conventionalised emblem of the Bodhisattva's great renunciation (Fig. 13a). The horse as Prince Siddhārtha's mount is led by the gods and angels in the scene of renunciation (Fig. 18). The same quadruped makes the mount of a standard-bearer (Fig. 17), and a mule takes its place in the case of another standard-bearer (Fig. 17a) The horse stands also as an attribute of a female deity (Fig. 77). The Valāha and Sindhu are the horses of superior breed, both of which are represented at Barhut, the former as sky-going (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 136), and the latter as fit to be yoked to royal chariots (Figs. 52, 53). The horses are represented also as chargers of the cavalry (Figs. 52, 53, 90).

Turning to deer as the next species of quadrupeds, we may notice that gazelles are employed as an architectural ornament,—as a cognizance of the Deer-park at Sārnāth (Fig. 44). The Nyagrodha, Chitra (spotted), Kuranga and Ruru are the four main species of deer that may be identified (Figs. 88, 89, 103, 126). The panicky condition of a herd of deer at thė appearance of tigers on its grazing ground is clearly depicted in Scene 108. The various postures of deer, as shown at Barhut, are quite life-like. The most beautiful scene is one in which two antlers run in opposite directions in fear of a garuḍa (Pl. XXVII).

The bulls or bullocks play no important part, and the cows are altogether absent. The bulls are represented as beasts of burden (Figs. 45, 86). In one scene, a bull remains obstinately in a sitting posture, blocking the road. A makara bears only a conventionalised head of a bull (Pl. XXVII). A dead bull is shown in a sitting posture in Fig. 114, Pl. XIII. The impressive figure of a bull is one in Scene 109.

The ram (eḷaka) appears in its two postures : first, as prepared to strike, and secondly, after the beast has struck down a man (Fig. 111). Four sitting rams figure on an entemblature in Pl. XXVI.

All the three dogs of Barhut are domesticated beasts. One of them is a dog of a royal household which goes out to meet an ascetie (Fig. 132), and the remaining two are hunting dogs (koka-sunakha), trained to track and attack the beasts of game (Fig. 146).

The wild boar is the only beast of game shown at Barhut (Fig. 146) other than the deer or antelopes offering many examples.

The jackal is proverbially notorius for its cunningness, and it is in this very character that it has been represented in Scene 121. A pack of jackals is shown on a charnel-field as hungrily looking up for human flesh (Fig. 97).

Among the beasts of feline species, a big she-cat is shown as trying to persuade a cock to come down from the tree (Fig. 119).

The otters are presented in their usual dexterity in catching fish (Fig. 121), while the squirrels are beautifully shown on the bunches of fruits (Pl. X).

The apes as half-human beasts enjoy a good deal of importance. Some three or four classes of them are represented. Here are two typical scenes depicting the mischief-making nature of monkeys (Figs. 99, 105). They are shown also as capable of rendering service to men (Figs. 127, 129). Their natural life in the forest

is vividly portrayed (Figs. 56, 122). Their actions in three comic scenes cannot pass unnoticed (Figs. 148, 148a, 148b). But the most artistic representation of a monkey is one in Pl. XXVIII.

Among the birds, the suparṇa or garuḍa is displayed in a sitting posture and with its wings majestically spread on both sides (Pl. XXVII). The display of peacocks is no less natural and gorgeous (Pl. XXVI). The dancing peacock makes a maginficent sight (Fig. 91). In one example, the great peacock, honoured by two other peacocks from two sides, seems to represent the Buddha with his two premier Disciples (Pl. XXXII). In one instance, the peacocks represent an architectural ornament,—an emblem of a royal palace (Pl. XXVII).

The cock on the tree is perfectly natural (Fig. 119). The flight of the varttakas (quails) is both natural and impressive (Fig. 93). The laṭukikā (a species of the quails) is clearly shown with its young ones, bred and brought up on the ground (Fig. 117). The woodpecker in its nest and in its subsequent movements and actions is a remarkable picture (Fig. 103). The pigeon and the crow on hanging supports under the eaves of a kitchen suggest a homely scene (Fig. 94). But the crow is shown also as pecking the eyes of an elephant (Fig. 117). The crows are again the birds that torture the sinners after their death (Fig. 10a).

The mallard as the king of birds stands gracefully, watching the ways of the thoughtless peacock (Fig. 91). The geese are shown as eating the lotus-stalks, while two geese remain face to face while floating on the surface of water in a lotus-pool (Pl. XXXIX). Some ducks are represented as swallowing up fish in a lake (Fig. 107).

Among the aquatic beings, the timiṅgila appears as the dreadful sea-monster (Fig. 85). The makara which is classed in the Jātaka with the crocodiles and alligators (kumbhīla, suṃsumāra) represents an attribute of Gaṅgā devatā (Fig. 77). It is generally represented as elephant-headed and fish-tailed (Pl. XXXIII). The tortoises shown are those of a large species. Their amphibious life ts faithfully depicted in Scene 103.

The varieties of the fish, their movements and fins in the water of a sea (Fig. 85), of a lake or pool (Figs. 103, 107), and of a shallow hill-stream (Fig 122) are vividly represented. That one of these varieties is rohita (red fish) is beyond doubt (Fig. 121).

The Barhut list of small creatures closes with a snake (Fig. 116) and a frog on a hill-top (Fig. 117).

5. Trees and creepers :—The trees shown are either celestial or terrestrial. Two celestial trees appear : the Pārichchhatra or Pārijāta and the Mandāra, the former in the panels representing a scene of the Heaven of the Thirty-three (Figs. 47, 48), and the latter as an architectural ornament (Figs. 52, 54). Those among the terrestrial trees which stand prominently at Barhut are mostly sacred trees, sacred either because of their association with the lives of the Buddhas or on account of the popular belief that some spirits, Nāgas, Suparṇas, Yakshas or Devatās, took their abodes in them. Among these trees, those which may be satisfactorily identified, partly with the help of inscription and literary tradition, are the six Bo-trees connected with six Buddhas. They are Pāṭali (Fig. 26), Śāla (Fig. 28), Śirīsha (Fig. 29), Udumbara (Fig. 30), Nyagrodha (Fig. 31), and Aśvattha (Fig. 32). Though their representation is a conventional work of art under the influence of tradition, it cannot be denied that the idea of them is actually drawn from nature. The best representation from the artistic point of view is, of course, that of Aśvattha, the Bo-tree of Buddha Śākymuni (Fig. 32). The same Bo-tree is conventionally represented in other panels (Figs. 16, 16a, 41). The high position of this tree is best portrayed where it is placed in the midst of other trees of its kind (Fig. 50). The Śirīsha (Acacia), too, comes out at its best where it is allowed to enjoy prominence in the midst of other trees of its family (Fig. 69). The Nyagrodha (Banyan) reigns supreme as a sylvan shrine on Mt. Naḍoda or Nārada (Fig. 142). This tree has its place also in Scenes 122, 138. Barhut has no other example of the Udumbara (Fig.) to offer. The twin Śāla-trees make a delightfnl arbour (Figs. 54, 55). The Indraśala marks the entrance of a cave (Fig. 56). The down-spread branch of a tree in flowers, Śāla or Aśoka, with the hand of a woman placed in it presents an impressive sight. Here are a few examples of tall-grown trees in flowers, from which the spirits dwelling in them are plucking blossoms (Figs. 19, 75, 76).[1]

A rose-apple tree (Jambu) stands on Mt. Naḍoda as an example of sacred trees (Fig. 140). One example is offered by a mango-tree (Fig. 89). In one example, the tree appears to be an Aśvattha (Fig. 108), and in another, it may be a Śāla (Fig. 124a).

The tree in Scene 103 is a Varuṇa (Crataeva roxburghii) according to literary tradition. The Jetavana scene presents three sandal trees (Fig. 45).

The creeping plant with bushy growth stands on Mt. Naḍoda (Fig. 144) as a class of kshīrikā-vṛiksha (trees, the exudations of which cure skin-diseases). But Barhut can offer two other examples of creeping plants (Figs. 13a, 141c).

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1 Buddhist India, pp. 224 foll. Barhut, Bk I, pp. 50-53.

The vine makes a fine show with the bunches of grapes in one of the medallions that has not been reproduced.

Among the fruit-trees, the mango offers various examples (Fig. 45, 51, 89, 98, 108, 113). The mango planted and reared up by Gaṇḍa, the gardener, is a highly special variety (Fig. 46). Of the Jambu or rose-apple, we have just one example (Fig. 140). The existence of the Panasa or jackfruit and the date-palm is proved by the bunches of fruits (Pl. XXIV). According to literary tradition, the tree in Scene 104 is a jujube. The fruit-tree in Scene 34 still awaits identification. Two palmyra palm trees stand as sylvan columns before a mansion (Fig. 40). The plaintain or banana is shown in two stages of its growth (Figs. 127, 121).

Among the plants bearing flowers, the lotus is the only plant worthy of mention. The rivers, lakes and marshy lands are pointed out as the places where the three varieties of lotus grow. The Śala, ihe Pāṭali, and the Aśoka offer vary poor examples of flowers-trees.

The remaining trees and plants may be left out of consideration as unimportant.

6. **Flowers and fruits** :—Barhut abounds with lotuses of various kinds and types, the water-lilies being a distinct variety (Fig. 7). The flower in the hand of the goddess Sirimā is probably a datura. The Mandāra flowers are celestial (Fig. 54). The flowers blossoming on the Pāṭali, the Śāla, or the Aśoka are unimportant.

Among the fruits, the varieties of mangoes, large, small and those of medium size, constitute the main wealth of Barhut. The jackfruits, castard apples, and dates stand next to them (Pl. XXIV). The bananas make a good show at a fruit-shop (Fig. 145). A bunch of grapes serves as a cognizance of a man of Uttrāpatha (North-western region of India, Fig. 71).

7. **Mountains and woodlands** :—Naḍoda or Nārada is the first mountain to be noted. Barhut offers two scenes on its top and one scene at its foot. A few pieces of rock are the only cognizance of its existence (Figs. 140, 142, 144). The pieces of rock also mark the existence of the Kālaśilā mountain in Scene 136. The presence of the Vediyaka hill (modern Giryek in South Behar) is to be inferred from the Indraśāla-cave, situated in it (Fig. 56). The rest are various woodlands (vana-khaṇḍa, araṇyāyatana), marked either by a tree-shrine or by a thicket of wood, generally near a river, a stream or a lake. The woodlands afforded sites for hermitages or natural shelters for the tigers, elephants, deer, and other denizens of the forest (Figs. 89, 91, 98, 99, etc.).

8. Seas, rivers, lakes, etc. :—The sea stands with all its dreadfulness in the scene of Vasugupta (Fig. 58). A large river is marked by the movement of a makara (Fig. 77). The current of a flowing river is clearly depicted (Fig. 126). The picture of a large river, with a strip of land dividing it, and bordered with a line of acacia trees, is vividly portrayed (Fig. 69). The lakes and pools near a rock or forest are generally shown with ducks, tortoises and fish moving about in them (Figs. 103, 107, 122).

9. Cities, market-towns, and other localities :—These are nowhere fully represented. A hint here, a hint there, and all taken together call up a complete picture. First, in Fig. 18, we see the royal palace of Śuddhodana as the central object of interest in the city of Kapilavāstu. A portion of the high wall which enclosed the city is also shown. Turning to Figs. 52, and 53, we are to notice only the gate of a royal city, such as Śrāvastī. Thirdly, in Fig. 101, we must note only the bridge or causeway by which the moat or ditch surrounding a city was to be crossed.[1] The bazars within the city are indicated only by a banana and a honey shop (Figs. 145, 143). The suburb of the city of Śrāvastī is represented by Jetavana (Fig. 45), and that of Rājagṛiha by Jīvaka's Mango-garden (Fig. 51). The crowded market-town of Yavamadhyaka is sought to be represented by the central figure of the banker, surrounded by multitudes and engaged in settling up petty disputes (Fig. 137). Similarly the villages present themselves to us in all their simplicity through a common homestead of a householder (Fig. 102).

10. Pleasaunces and gardens :—The Jetavana is presented to us as the pleasure-garden of a prince which had to be purchased with a layer of crores (Fig. 45). The mango-grove with a maṇḍalamāla in the suburb of Rājagṛiha stands as a private garden of Jīvaka. The presence of the Nyagrodhārāma which became the scene of the Dhammachetiya Discourse is indicated by the Dharmachakra sanctuary. and a royal drive towards it (Fig. 52). An idea of such an ārāma is well-suggested in Scene 142. The presence of a royal garden is indicated by a tree and an antelope standing without fear before a man (Fig. 88). The action of the monkeys shows how the fruit gardens of common people lay open to mischiefs (Fig. 95).

11. Hermitages and other religious abodes :—The hermitages or religious abodes of the hermits and ascetics were founded generally away or far away from human localities in pleasant woodlands adjoining a river or a lake, where roots and fruits were available. The parṇaśālās or leaf-huts were the usual dwellings that

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1 Coomaraswamy, Early Indian Architecture (Eastern Art, Vol. II, 1930), p. 213.

were made. In some instances, the abode could be fixed in suitable caves. Barhut offers several examples of such abodes, including a cave-dwelling (Fig. 98a). It shows how the religious abodes of the Buddhists were just in the making. It presents to us the sites, chosen neither very near nor very far from cities and towns for the erection of Buddhist monastic abodes : the Jetavana in the suburb of Śrāvastī, the mango-grove of Jīvaka in the suburb of Rājagṛiha, the Nyagrodhārāma in the suburb of Kapilavāstu, etc.[1]

12. Funeral ground :—Buddhist literature speaks of two kinds of funeral ground : one, where the corpses were thrown away to undergo the natural process of decomposition or to be destroyed and eaten up by the crows, vultures, jackals and other carnivorous beasts and birds (sīvathikā, āmaka-susāna) ; and one, where the dead bodies were burnt away on funeral piles (āḷāhana).[2] Both are represented at Barhut : the former by a man lying down on the ground like a corpse and a pack of jackals roaming about on it (Fig. 97), and the latter, by a burning bundle of faggots with a corpse laid on the ground and the figure of a Piśācha near by (Fig. 116). The fate of the corpses eaten up by the crows and such other destructive agents is shown in Fig. 10a.

13. Hearth and home :—The hearth and home of common people consist of a main house, an out house, a kitchen and a granary, disposed on four sides of a courtyard, or just on two or three sides. Whether a main house or a kitchen, it appears to be a mud-walled hut with a gabled roof, provided with doors and small windows (Figs. 102, 94). The shops in the bazars are built precisely after a similar pattern (Fig. 143). The abodes of the hermits and ascetics are huts with a roof thatched with straw. The four sides of the roof taper to a point, which is marked by a pinnacle (Fig. 131). The best example of such huts is offered by one fenced with a bamboo palisade and adorned with a somewhat ornamental pinnacle (Fig. 105). In one instance, their abode is a cave in a rock with a vaulted roof (Fig. 98a). It is called Jaṭila-sabhā in the label attached to it.

14. Royal palaces and cities :—Conventionally the royal palaces and cities and their celestial prototypes are represented alike (Figs. 134, 47). The best example of a royal palace is one offered by the palace of Suddhodana with a row of columns in front. In between the columns is placed a standing figure of rāja-lakshmī. The city-wall appears to be a palisade of wood, or of stone, fashioned after the manner of wood (Fig. 18). The gate of the palace or that of the city is a

1 On this point, see Barua, Gayā and Buddha Gayā, Vol. I, p. 158

2 Buddhist India, pp. 79-80.

high barrel-vaulted arch, set in a rectangular wall (Figs. 52, 53). A celestial mansion with the wall and gate of the celestial city presents a similar appearance (Pl. XXII). The heavenly prototype of a royal palace is the Vaijayanta Palace of Śakra, and the heavenly prototype of a Council-hall attached to a royal palace is the Sudharmā devasabhā attached to Śakra's mansion (Fig. 39).[1] The top floor of a sattabhūmaka-pāsāda (building of seven stories) with roof is also to be seen (Fig. 95a). The maṇḍala-māla in Jīvaka's garden is just an open pillared shed with a gabled roof above and a raised floor below (Fig. 51). A watch-tower of the gods resting on ornamented pillars is an interesting point to note (Fig. 40). A typical front view of a royal palace may be seen in Pl. XXVII.[1]

15. Buddhist architecture :—The Gandhakuṭi and Kosambakuṭi are introduced as cottages built for use by the Buddha himself (Fig. 45), and the Maṇḍalamāla comes before us as a type of pavilions with a gabled roof, where the inmates of a monastic abode might meet together (Fig. 51).

Barhut presents designs of other forms of architecture in connection with these three objects of worship : the relics, the Bo-tree and the personal presence of the Buddha. The Stūpa with the railings and gateways is accordingly represented as the first type of Buddhist shrines, the Bo-tree enclosed by a railing and confronted by an open hall for worship as the second type, and the Vajrāsana or the Caṅkrama (Walk) as the third type.

The importance of the stūpa-models with their best example in Figs. 54 and 55 has been discussed. But the Stūpa of Barhut itself with its two railings and four gateways stands as a grand example of the sārīrika-chetiya that could be built at the Śuṅga period. In this monument, the most notable construction is that of the jambs of the E. Gateway. Each of the jambs shows in its lower half a fine combination of four octagons and in its upper half a padmaka culminating in a Triratna symbol (Fig. 13a).

Barhut offers two slightly different designs of the Bodhi-architecture. In both of them, the tree is enclosed by a railing (Figs. 32, 52). In one example, the railing is provided with a dome-shaped roof with an aperture to allow the tree to peep out through it (Fig. 52). A monolith of Aśoka near the entrance takes the place of esikā or indrakīla,—a strong wooden pillar (sāradārutthambha),[2] posted at a city-gate.

The Vajrāsana is just a cubical seat, ornamented with pillars and arches in front and placed under a pillared hall with a flat roof (Fig. 32). The Jewel-walk

1 Cf. G. P. Majumdar's informative paper—'Hearth and Home', in I. C., Vol. III.

2 Paramattha-jotikā, Siamese Ed., p. 203.

is represented as an ornamented platform under a pillared shed with a gabled roof, adorned with a few pinnacles (Fig. 42).[1]

Barhut also offers two similar designs of a Dharmachaitya or Dharmachakra shrine, installing in it an ornamental wheel (Figs. 52, 53).

16. Entertainments :—Samajjā or samāja is the Buddhist word to denote all popular entertainments, and samajjā forms a part or distinct feature of the thūpamaha in Barhut art. The entertainments not only consist of music and musical performances but include also wrestling and gymnastic feats. The reader's attention has been drawn to various scenes of music and acting. As for wrestling, Barhut has just one scene to offer (Fig. 157). The gymnastic feats shown consist in riding elephants, horses and makaras, and in some instances, in a standing posture (Figs. 62, 64, 75, 76, 77) ; in lifting up a standing man on one's shoulder (Fig. 60), and a standing woman on the palm of one's hands (Fig. 72) ; and in remaining balanced up on an unsteady support (Figs. 61, 65, 68. 73, 74). Here are also a few feats to demonstrate the effect of training of animals by men (Figs. 62, 64, 75, 76, 82, Pl. XXXII).

The dancing, singing and playing musical instruments constitute three features of a typical musical performance. Of dancing, which is really an acting according to certain rules of rhythm, Barhut offers various examples. This art is mainly assigned to maidens, human and divine. Here are mainly five forms of dance : one that of a wife wanting to please her husband (Fig. 95a) ; one that of a Kinnara couple dancing out of joy in a playful mood (Pl. XXX) ; one that of the accomplished nymphs and courtezans dancing to the accompaniment of vocal and instrumental music (Figs. 34, 39) ; one that of a Nāga maiden dancing on the lifted head of a Nāgarāja, maintaining rhythm with the wavy motion of his body (Fig. 69) ; and the fifth that of a Nāgarāja in a human form, maintaining rhythm with the wavy motion of two mermaids (Pl. XXX)[2].

The song or vocal music is sought to be represented only by certain gestures and postures including those of hands (Figs. 34, 69, 136).

As regards instrumental music, we see that a drummer goes at the head of a procession (Fig. 18). In one instance, the procession is led with the beat of a drum,

1 For the importance of these designs, see Barua, Gayā & Buddha-Gayā, Vol. II, pp. 19, 20, 26 ; Cunningham, Mahābodhi, pp. 8, 18-19.

2 The grandest dance in India in the 2nd century B. C. was that of Nāgarāja long, perhaps, before the dance of Naṭarāja came into the field.

the blowing of an Indian pipe, and the sounding of a pair of cymbals (Figs. 148, 148a, 148b). The concert is produced by playing the harp (viṇā) in symphony with the sound of the right-and-lefthand drums and bell-metal (Figs. 34, 39). But no musical instrument bears comparison with the stringed viṇā which is placed in the hand of Pañchaśikha and the lotus-nymph (Figs. 56,81).

The public appearance of the kings on the back of elephants (Fig. 51), the royal drives and the march of the fourfold army (Figs, 52, 53), the formal entry of a king into a conquered city (Fig. 101), and the relic procession (Figs. 17, 17a) constitute pleasant sights. The sights approved as good by King Aśoka in his R. E. IV are those which may be calculated to inspire a feeling for piety and moral action among men, the display of celestial elephants, of celestial mansions, fiery forms (aggikkhandhas) and such other divine or artistic representations. Barhut offers a fine example of celestial mansion and elephant in Scene 41 (Pl. XXII).

17. Arts and crafts :—The Barhut examples of arts and crafts are like those mentioned in the early records of Buddhism[1]. They are the elephant-riders, the cavalry, the charioteers, the foot-soldiers (Figs. 52, 53), the sailors (Fig. 85), the brick-layers (Fig. 45), the needle-makers (Fig. 120) and the barbers or shampooers (Fig. 87). The low arts and crafts are represented by the hunters, fletchers and trappers (Figs. 93, 103, 100, 146).

The art of the weavers and dress-makers has its importance in the discussion of the drapery and costume of the gods and men,[2] while the existence of the ivory-workers is suggested by the action of the hunter employed for the collection of ivory (Fig. 128). Similarly the art of the goldsmith or jeweller gains in importance in connection with the jewelleries worn on the person of the gods and men.[3] All that we have to point out regarding this art is that there is a good exhibition of the handiworks of a goldsmith in the various ornamental compositions on the Barhut coping (Pls. XXIV, XXV).

18. Viharayatra and dharmayatra :—The Vihārayātrā was a favourite pastime with the former kings of India, which King Aśoka wanted to replace by dharmayātrā. Going a hunting expedition is mentioned as a typical illustration of the former and going for an interview with the Brāhmans and Recluses as that of the latter. Barhut offers illustrations of both, as well as of the process by which the former was yielding place to the latter (Figs. 126, 88, 51, 52, 53).

1 Buddhist India, pp. 88-96.

2. 3 Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, Buddhist India, pp. 90-91 ; Grünwedel, Buddhist Art in India, pp. 35-36.

19. Gods and men :—Barhut sculptures follow a scheme of art in which the gods and men figure alike, and represent a religious function in which they unite to heighten its significance. Looked at from one point of view, here is only a great concourse of the gods and angels in a upavana or delightful grove created by art and graced by the presence of the holy congregation of Bhikshus with the Master at their head. It would seem as if the whole Barhut effort of art is to delineate, however imperfectly, a picture of the Worship of the Buddha in a peaceful and tranquil atmosphere, which is suggested in the Mahāsamaya-Suttanta. The act of worship means an open acknowledgment of the greatness of the worshipped. Some gods may be above some men, but the Buddha is far above all (sabba-sattānam aggo) and the supreme object of worship (aggadakkhiṇeyyo).[2] The Suttanta explains how even the Suparṇas and Nāgas could come in together without any ferocity and fear, in spite of an incompatible natural relation between them.[3]

The Buddhists speak of three kinds of gods (devas, devatās) : those by common consent or recognition (sammuti), those by purity (visuddhi), and those by birth (upapatti). The kings and other royal personages are the gods by recognition, the recluses and other holy personages are the gods by purity, Brahmā, Prajāpati and other celestial beings are the gods by birth. To the question, who is a devatā ? the reply is : "Any being who is worshipped or to whom an offering is made or a gift given".[4] The Niddesa list of devatās comprises five groups of five kinds of each : "(1) ascetics ; (2) domestic animals (elephants, horses, cows, cocks, crows) ; (3) physical forces and elements (fire, stone, etc.) ; (4) lower gods (bhummadevā : nāgā, supaṇṇā, yakkhā, asurā, gandhabbā)[1] ; (5) high gods (inhabitants of the devaloka proper : Mahārāja, Chanda, Suriya, Inda, Brahmā)". To these "are added the two aspects of the sky-god as deva-devatā and disā-devatā".[5] The Niddesa list also includes Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Puṇṇabhadda and Maṇibhadda among the beings worshipped by the people of India. The masses are broadly classed as devadhammikas[6] or worshippers of the gods. The devas, as specified in the Devadhamma-Jātaka, are precisely those *mentioned in the* Niddesa and other Buddhist texts .[7]

Now, looked at from another point of view, Barhut represents nothing but the evolution of man from the lowest to the highest. The whole cosmography, conceived

1 Digha-N, II, p. 254, 257 : Mahāsamayo 'pavanasmiṃ devakāyā samāgatā.

2 Sumangala-vilāsini, Part I, p. 233. 3 Digha N, II, p. 259 : 4 Cf. Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra. IX. I. 6—10. Abhayaṃ tadā Nāgarājānam āsi, Supaṇṇato khemam akāsi Buddho.

5 Pali-English Dictionary sub voce Devatā. 6 Angutara-N. III. p. 276. 7 Niddesa p. 308.

in the form of a gradation of beings : Arūpabrahmas, Rūpabrahmas, Kāmāvachara devas, Manussa, Tirachchhāna (Animals), Petas (Departed spirits), and Nerayikas (Infernal beings), constitutes just a scale to measure the rises and falls of man. The gods and things celestial typify men and things human at their best, while the animals, departed spirits and infernal beings typify men at their worst. The Buddhists place the Disciples of the Buddha in the eight stages of sanctification even above the Arūpabrahmas and take them to represent a Lokottara (Supramundane gradation,) while the Buddha is placed in a position, which is reached by none but a Supreme Buddha.[1]

As the forms of art reach up to Rūpabrahmas, Barhut has avoided figurations, human or otherwise, of the Arūpabrahmas. If art cannot consistently with the above idea represent in human or any form the Formless, far less can it represent Buddha and his Disciples who transcend even the limit of the Formless.[2] The Rūpabrahmas and other gods are carved in the image of man, and the goddesses in that of woman.

20. Personality :—Here we are not to discuss the metaphysical problem of personality. The word personality is used in its ordinary sense, it meaning what one generally understands when one says, "He is a great personality", "Hers is a sweet personality". It is a powerful or significant expression of the self, which is at once felt and noticed by others who come in contact. Before the arrival of the Buddha at the abode of certain Wanderers (Parivrājakas) they converted it into a fish-market by their noisy and unrestrained discussions and conversations, but no sooner they saw the Buddha was coming towards them than they were all struck dumb.[1] This was due to Buddha's personality. The last compliments paid by King Prasenajit of Kośala to the Buddha were all touching his personality.[2] Personality is some sort of devatva or divinity. A Bodhisattva or Buddha in the making is otherwise called a mahāsattva or great being, that is, one endowed with great personality. The Bodhisattva in his last human existence appears as a mahāpurusha or great man. The study of the history of a mahāpurusha is burdened with the problem of development and advent of such a personality. It is suggested that there are two aspects of the self : that of attainment through supreme efforts, and that of self-expression, self-assertion, self-manifestation, one following upon the other.[3] Personality is concerned with the second aspect.

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1 Here lies a correct explanation for the absence of human figuration not only of Buddha but of Buddha's Disciples and Arūpabrahmas.

1 Majjhima-N. II, p. 2.

3 Ibid, II, Dhammachetiya -Sutta.

The gods with personality are described as those endowed with supernormal powers, brilliancy of mental qualities, lustre of appearance, and dignity of position (iddhimantā, jutimantā, vaṇṇavantā, yasassino).[1] A great personality among men is a person of great power and great influence (mahiddhika, mahānubhāva), Even on the physical side, a perfect bodily form is required for the expression of personality. Thus a Bo-tree endowed with personality is said to be a tree of which the trunk and foliage are proportionately of the same height, the branches, too, are proportionately of the same height and length, and rise aloft and spread in four directions, and the leaves are ever green and fresh, and the tallness is no less than a hundred cubits.[2] The bodily form of an antelope endowed with personality is similarly described.[3] The 32 major and 80 minor bodily marks of a great man are intended to describe the perfect bodily form of a man endowed with personality.

The trees of Barhut invested with personality are typified by the Bo-tree in Fig. 32, the Aśvattha in the centre in Fig. 50, the Śirīsha with a seat before it (Fig. 69), and the Nyagrodha in Fig. 143. The antelopes invested with personality are three the spotted deer that stands in the middle (Fig. 89), the Nyagrodha deer in Fig. 88, and the Ruru king in Fig. 129. Attention may be similarly drawn to the bull in Fig. 109, the lord of the herd of elephants in Fig. 83, the mallard in Fig. 91, the peacock in Pl. XXXIII, Arhadgupta in Fig. 81, Alambushā in Fig. 34, the Yaksha in Fig. 67, the Nāgarāja in Fig. 69, the Ṛishi in Fig. 131, and Mahaushadha in Fig. 147.

21. Art and actuality :—In commenting on the human forms of Barhut and Sānchī, Grünwedel remarks : "Physically, too, the Hindu differs from the ancient Greek. With his delicate and supple-jointed limbs, miserable calves and feeble muscles, the Hindu was in early times, as the ancient Buddhist sculptures show, the very same lightly built, slippery, eel-like creature that he is to-day. On the whole, it may be said that ancient Buddhist art has represented the Hindu excellently, with an agreeable child-like naturalism which, notwithstanding the graceful moulding, is far from idealising.'[3]

Grünwedel is not the only scholar and art-critic who has indulged in such a sweeping generalisation as above. It may go without saying that as a physical or racial type, the ancient Greek differed from the Hindu, as also from the ancient Roman, Assyrian, Egyptian, and the rest. But will it be a correct inference to draw from the figurations in ancient Buddhist art that there were no men then in India with

1 Digha-N. II. p. 255. 2 Barhut, Bk. II pp. 2-7. 3 bid Bk. II p. 86.

4 Buddhist Art in India, p. 33.

a muscular build ? Surveying all the figures at Barhut, of men, gods, animals and the rest, we can easily detect that these were designed by at least three artists, and their works may be classed as superior, of medium quality, and inferior. At the hands of one of them, the human figures have come out as sufficiently tall, reminding us of the Punjabis of to-day (Fig. 18).

To our mind, the correct inference to draw would be the minimum, and not the maximum. Consider, for example, the poor boat propelled by oars in the midst of a sea or ocean (Fig. 85). Would it be correct to think and say that was precisely the shape and size of the sea-going boat which is hardly better than a canoe plying in shallow water ? We should say, "No". The representation in art falls far short of the literary description of the vessels in which the sea-going merchants dared go to such distant places as Ceylon, Java, and Babylon (Bāveru). The minimum that might be said is that even that was a possible or actual form of a boat, known to the artist who designed it.

Consider next the thrones on which the kings are found seated. These are hardly better than ordinary chairs of to-day. Were these precisely the thrones of the kings of ancient India which taxed a great poetical skill to describe their magnificence ? We should again say, "No".

Mt. Naḍoda or Nārada, representing as it did a peak of the Gandhamādana range of poetic fame, is barely indicated by a tree or plant with a few pieces of rock near by. Are these sufficient to give an idea of the loftiness and grandeur of the mountain, the natural wealth and beauty of which are described in eloquent terms by the poet of the Vessantara-Jātaka ? Even to this query, our one reply should be, "certainty not".

The argument need not be stressed any further. It may suffice to say that a gladiator with a most muscular frame may assume a most gentle form when he comes to play the humble part of a worshipper of the Buddha. The main method of treatment followed in Barhut art is symbolical, the human forms not excepted. The symbolic devices touch the minimum of actuality, and not the maximum.[1]

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1 With reference to the figures of the Yakshas, for instance, Bachhofer (Early Indian Sculpture. Vol. I, p. 21) observes : "In solemn repose and deep earnestness stand the demi-gods of Barhut as creatures of a transcendental sphere who have nothing in common with humanity. One must, however, beware of interpreting these figures as the expression of a particularly serious conception."

SECTION V

ASPECTS OF ART

1. Part of Navakarmika :—We are now accustomed to speak of Buddhist art, taking it to signify that branch of Indian or Oriental art which deals with Buddhist or Buddhistic subjects. This connotation of the term is generally accepted apart from the consideration of who the artists are. If the craftsmen or so-called artists under their leader—the mason, were persons strangers to the Buddhist faith and unfamiliar with its scriptures, legends and traditions, how was it possible for them to do justice to the work for which they were employed ? If they had represented skilled hands with tools, where was the head to guide them in their work ? Could their handiworks have received at all a Buddhistic stamp, if there were no agent to act on behalf of the Buddhists themselves ? The Vinaya Texts lead us to think that in commencing all new building operations of importance to Buddhism, the Sangha formally appointed an expert among its members to act as superintendent (kammādhiṭṭhāyaka). The duty of the Navakarmika consisted in directing and supervising all works connected with Buddhist religious architecture. Some of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions definitely record that the erection of the Mahāchetiya of the place was completed by the Reverend Ānanda who knew the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas by heart.[2] Similarly the Mahāvaṃsa records that sculptures in the Relic-chamber of the Great Stūpa, built under the anspices of King Duṭṭthagāmaṇī, were duly executed under the direction of the Venerable Indagutta (Indragupta) who was endowed with six supernormal faculties.[3] From these references, it is easy to infer that the Navakarmika placed in charge of new building operations was either an architect and sculptor himself or a person who could guide the artists in their work.

2. Navakarmika of Barhut :—If it be assumed that a Navakarmika was appointed to direct and supervise building operations at Barhut, the question arises : Who was he ? Among the extant inscriptions of Barhut that record the names of Bhikkhus or Bhikkhunis other than those who resided at the locality, mention also the names of places, to which they belonged. Among the local

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1 Vinaya Chullavagga, VI, mentions in detail some of the works entrusted to a Navakarmika.

2 Vogel, Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist site at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, E.I., Vol. XX, Part I, p. 17 ; D. L. Barua, 'On some Terms in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscriptions', I. C , Vol. I, p. 107.

3 Mahāvaṃsa, XXX 98.

Bhikkhus, only one is mentioned as Navakarmika. **Isipālita (Ṛishipālita) alone figures** as the Navakarmika, adorned with all the other epithets—Bhadaṃta, Aya and Bhānaka, with which other Bhikkhu donors are honoured. From this evidence, the conclusion is almost irresistible that the Reverend Master Ṛishipālita, the Reciter of the Sacred Texts, was the Navakarmika under whose guidance and supervision the Barhut Buddhist monument was built.

3. Art as defined in the Brahmanas :—Śilpa (Pāli sippa) is the common Indian term to denote all arts and crafts, all creations that are striking and skilful,[1] all things demanding manual skill[2], and all branches of learning requiring intellectual instrumentality.[3] Thus all that go by the name of divine artmanship (devaśilpa), all that go by the name of human artmanship (mānuṣa-śilpa),[4] and all that go by the name of industrial and professional arts (āgāriya-sippa)[5] are comprehended by one and the same term. Here the term Śilpa or Art is to be understood in the narrow sense of artmanship displayed in architecture, sculpture, and painting, and the point of inquiry is : How is this term, understood in this very sense, defined in the Brāhmaṇas ?

The definition of Art as met with in the Brāhmaṇas is far from speaking well of the creative genius of Brahmanism, and the Brāhmaṇas are the ancient authoritative texts in which the Brahmanist definition of Art is enunciated. In accordance with the famous dictum in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, III, 2. I. 5 :

Yad vai pratirūpaṃ tach chhilpam :
'Whatever is a facsimile is Art.'

The Pāli word corresponding to pratirūpaṃ is patirūpaṃ. Patirūpa is that which is 'suitable, right, good, proper, e.g. patirūpo desavāso, and patirūpako means 'one bearing just the semblance', e.g. paṇḍita-patirūpako, 'a sham scholar' ; mitta-patirūpako, 'one bearing the semblance of a friend'.

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1 Barhut Inscriptions, No. 30 : Bhadatasa Aya-Isipālitasa Bhānakasa Navakamikasa dānaṃ

2 Sāyana on Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa. VI, 5, 1 : Śilpaşabdaś cha āścharyakaraṃ karma brūte . . . . kauśalam.

3 Khuddakapātha-Commentary, Section bearing on the Mangala-Sutta . Sippan ti yaṃ kiñchi hattha-kosallaṃ-manikāra-suvaṇṇakāra-kammādi.

4 Sippa-Sutta in the Udāna : Gaṇana-sippam, Saṅkhāna-sippaṃ, Lekhā-sippaṃ, Kāveyya-sippaṃ, Lokāyata-sippaṃ, Khattavijjā-sippaṃ.

5 Sāvaṇa on Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, VI, 5. 1 . Silpaṃ dvividham : Devaśilpaṃ Mānuṣa-śilpañ cheti.

6 Khuddakapāṭha-Commentary, Section on Maṅgala-sutta. Cf. Udāna-Commentary, Section on Sippa-Sutta : Sippan ti laddhanāmaṃ yaṃ kiñchi ājivaṃ

The Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, VI, 5. I, sets forth the following definition of Art which may enable the reader to realize the underlying meaning of the Śatapatha dictum :

Śilpāni śaṃsanti devaśilpāny eteshāṃ vai śilpānām anukṛitiḥ śilpam adhigamyate. Hastī kaṃso vāso hiraṇyam aśvatarī-rathaḥ śilpam. Śilpaṃ hāsminnadhigamyate ya evaṃ veda yad eva śilpānāṃ. Ātmasamskṛtir vāva śilpāni. Chhandomayaṃ vā etair yajamāna ātmānaṃ saṃskurute.

'They praise the creations of Art that are divine. Here Art [in the human sense] is understood as meaning an imitation [1] of those very creations of Art divine. The figures of elephant,[2] the figurations in brass,[3] drapery and gold, and the mule-yoked-chariots [4] [made by human hand] are [examples of] Art [human]. Art verily consists in these—he who knows this knows indeed the creations of Art. The fashioning of self is, to be sure, a work of Art. By this the devotee so fashions his self as to render it chhandomaya—rhythmical.' [5]

The definition of Art which is superficial at first sight leads to a point suggestive of its deeper meaning. The point is concerned with the 'fashioning of self' (ātma-saṃskṛitiḥ), the art of self-building. The question is one of bringing a son into the world in a full-fledged form which is nothing but an art of reproducing one's own self as a separate individual who will stand out as a perfect model of bodily form and mental constitution, endowed with harmony and intelligence. The discussion of the subject in the concluding part of the chapter above referred to makes it clear that the fashioning of semen (retaḥ) as the seed of life is in the hands of the creative power of the Divine Being working in and through nature, while the imparting of certain specific characters to it in its passage through the womb is possible on the part of the parents. The substance with potentialities or posible forms is given as a work of Art divine and the methodical realization of those possibilities is the achievement of human skill and intelligence. The text of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa would have us understand that a purely æsthetic factor (e.g., the chanting of select hymns) may prove of a great psychical effect in producing the required artistic mood.

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1 Sāyaṇa : anukṛitiṃ sadṛiśarūpam.

2 Sāyaṇa : hastisadṛiśam ākāram.

3 Sāyaṇa : kaṃso darpanādi.

4 Sāyana's interpretation is followed.

5 Sāyaṇa : Chhadndomayaṃ—vedamayaṃ. The rendering of the passage as offered in the Translation of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa (Sacred Books of the Hindus Series) is rather a poor show of Vedic scholarship.

Thus the defintion implied is : Art consists in intelligently working up a desired form on a natural material, making manifest what is hidden or potential.[1]

4. **Buddhist conception of art** :—According to Buddhist conception, all works of art are really executed by mind (sabbaṃ taṃ chitten 'eva kayirati). Referring to a class of paintings called charaṇa-chitra, the Buddha is said to have declared : 'Even that is thought out by the mind (chitten' eva chintitaṃ)'.[2] In explaining this dictum, Buddhaghosa says :—"There is nothing finer in the world than the art of painting. In executing a piece of painting, this idea first occurs to the mind of the painter : 'Here these pictures should be drawn.' With this idea in the mind, the sketching, outlining, putting on the paint, touching up and other processes of painting proceed by means of the brush. As a result thereof, the desired figure appears on the canvas. Thereafter the artist gives a finishing touch by setting the details in their right places according to his own ideas'.[3] A Buddha-image, as the Buddhist views it, is not a physical likeness of the Buddha but a representation in bodily form of that which is purely mental without any positive basis (avatthukaṃ manamattakaṁ).[4]

According to the definition of art implied in this psychological explanation of the possibility of a work of art, art is an expression of mind through certain appropriate forms in matter. In other words, mind imposes its own forms on matter, imprinting them with its own consciousness, shaping them with its own ideas, enlivening them with its own feelings, vivifying them with its own emotions, and invigorating them with its own chetanā or conation. Thus the quality of art, that is, of expression, really depends on the sense of serenity, purity and transcendantility of mind itself.

As a form of composition, the function of art consists in producing rasa or quality of taste. In Grammar and style, rasa means 'essential property, elegance, brightness', and in dramatic art, it means 'sentiment' (naṭya-rasa). Rasa is a property or quality which is to be tasted or experienced (assāde, assādane, assādaṭṭhena). It permeates an object through a flow of its own (snehane). In the Netti, rasa is taken to be a synonym of juti, 'brightness, excellency'. Rasa as a sense of taste, represents the personal accomplishment or distinction of a man.[5] It carries with it

1 Cf. Barua, A History of pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, (1921), pp. 108-110.

2 Saṃyutta-N, III, p. 151.

3 Atthasālini, p. 64. See the Expositor by pe Maung Tin, I, p. 86.

4 Fausboll, Jātaka, IV, p. 228.

5 Pali-English Dictionary, sub voce Rasa.

the idea of a pleasurable or joyous interest, which is born of experience. An experience is to be felt by an individual within himself (pachchattaṃ), and, as such, it is inalienable from the self. There is, therefore, an indefinable element in each experience and in the sentiment born thereof. The rasa aimed at in Buddhist literary and art compositions is vimutti or final emancipation. This rasa or interest is to inform the whole and part of such compositions. The simile by which this point is illustrated in Buddhism is this : Just as from whichever part of the sea the water is tasted, its taste is salt (loṇarasa), even so vimutti is the taste of the Buddha's doctrines, as embodied in a literary form.[1] Vimutti is the free or unrelated state of consciousness (chitta), and the chitta which has experienced such a state is called vimutta-chitta. Mind in its passage towards vimutti, enjoys the taste of aloofness through self-alienation (pavivekarasa), that of joy born of the feeling of spirituality (dhammapītirasa).[2]

Looked at from this point of view, it is of secondary importance whether the forms adopted by art are exact copies or accurate representations of nature or not. The chief point for consideration is how far they are adequate as a means of producing the rasa in the varying degrees of its manifestation, the gradation being determined by human measures of joy and happiness (ānanda).[3]

5. Time and Space :—Kāla or samaya is the Buddhist term to denote time, and ākāśa, to denote space. Time is only a mental mode of interpreting events in space or in mind, it being without any existence in actuality.[4] The notion of time implies a related character of the world, viewed or contemplated as an object of thought.[5] The consciousness of time is reduced to zero in chitta, when chitta becomes unrelated; remaining in its own place.[6] An event, when it happens, happens as a simple occurrence, simple in the sense that the factors combining to produce it are not analysed yet. The possibility of its occurrence lies in a combination of circumstances or causal elements (pachchaya-sāmaggi), or in a complex of mental factors in relation to the consciousness.[7] The conventional or historical mode of representing existence

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1 Anguttara-N, I, p. 36, IV, p. 203 Samantapāsādikā, I, p 16. Sabbampi Buddhavachanaṃ rasavasena ekavidhaṃ taṃ ekarasaṃ vimuttirasam eva hoti

2 Dhammapada, v. 205 :
Paviveka-rasaṃ pītvā, rasaṃ upasamassa cha | niddaro hoti nippāpo dhammapīti-rasaṃ pivaṃ ||

3 Taittirīya-Upanishad, II. 8

4 Atthasālinī, p. 59 : So pan'esa sabhāvato avijjamānattā paññatti nattaka eva.

5 Ibid, p. 59 : taṃ taṃ upādāya paññatto kālo nāma.

6 Fausboll, Jātaka, III, p. 210.

7 Atthasālinī, p. 58.

is one in terms of three portions of time : atīta (past), anāgata (future), and pachchuppanna (present).[1] The atīta is that which has already ceased to be (niruddha), and the anāgata is that which has not as yet come to be. From the logical point of view, therefore, the pachchuppanna which is only a relative concept depending for its validity on the existence of atīta and anāgata does not stand in reality.[2] From the psychological point of view, however, pachchuppanna stands as an ever-renewed present. Such a present may be represented either as continuity (santati) or as duration (addhā), while its perception constitutes only one active moment of consciousness (chitta-khaṇa).[3] As the Mahāniddesa teaches, the visualisation of the entire history of the universe is possible by a single act of intuition in consciousness.[4]

The concept of ākāśa is treated under rūpa, as well as under chitta. As under rūpa, ākāśa or space is conceived as a dhātu or element which retains its own characteristics.[5] It is the ultimate ground of all physical objects, of all-matter. As such, it remains unaffected by the four great elements[6] and their derivatives, constituting together all-matter (sabbaṃ rūpaṃ).[7] And as under chitta, ākāśa dawns on consciousness as a vision of the infinity of space in a plane of experience which is reached immediately after rising up beyond the sensuous (rūpāvachara).[8] The infinity of space is entertained by the mind as a bahiddhārammaṇa or object of experience which directs the mind towards the external world for its place of origin.[9] And as a mental element, it is through space that we perceive objects as mutually distinct (parichchheda-rūpaṃ).[10]

6. **One chitta-kshana in Barhut art** :—Although the Barhut monument was not built in a day, and it took nearly a century to be completed, it is no wonder that the whole of it is designed to represent only one chitta-kshaṇa. This kshaṇa is no other than a single moment of rejoicing, one moment of pure religious impulse, one thrill of joy, or one devotional mood, induced by the festival (maha) held in honour of the relics deposited in the stūpa at Barhut. This may well explain why a scene of the relic-procession is depicted on the very First Pillar, as also on the very

1 Majjhima-N., III, p. 187, Kathāvatthu, I. 10; Stchervatsky, Central Conception of Buddhism, p. 45 f.
2 Mādhyamika-kārikā Ch. I.
3 Atthasālini, pp. 420-21 : khaṇa-pachchuppannaṃ chittaṃ chetopariyā-ñāṇassa ārammaṇaṃ hoti.
4 Mahāniddesa, gāthās quoted under Jarāvagga.
5 Dhammasangaṇi, p. 144.
6 Ibid, p. 144 : asamphuṭṭhaṃ chatūhi mahābhūtehi.
7 Ibid, p. 124.
8 Ibid, p. 98.
9 Ibid, p. 242.
10 S. Z. Aung, Compendium of Buddhist Philosophy, p. 226.

first piece of coping. This also explains why all men and women, gods and goddesses appear in what Grünwedel would call 'gala-dress', as a result of which it becomes difficult to distinguish between gods and men, kings and commoners, queens and ordinary women. The same explains why throughout prevail acts of and preparations for worship, why all meet all, the heaven and the earth, the high and the low, the serious and the frivolous, on a common platform and in the same joyous mood.

7. **Time as continuity** :—Time as continuity has been defined as a continuous adding to the strength of an impulse till the required momentum is produced. In producing fire, for instance, heat is to be generated by degrees till the point of ignition is reached. The continuous adding to the strength of heat till that point is reached is santati. Suppose there is a heavy waggon which can be drawn by seven pairs of bullocks. The first pair is yoked to it, then the second, next the third, and the process is continued till the seventh pair is yoked and the waggon begins to move. This is called santati.[1] Let us see how this idea of santati (continuous action) is represented in Barhut sculpture. Consider, for instance, the Fig. 103 in which the story of Kurungamiga has been represented by no less than five stages, and all in one and the same medallion. The depiction of each single stage constitutes a moment of artistic effort which adds to the significance of the previous moment, and until the last stage is depicted, the desired scene of the Jātaka remains incomplete. And when all the stages are depicted, the result is just one presentation on the whole. Similarly, the execution of each panel constitutes a moment of artistic effort, and all such moments combine to produce a single artistic result. An artistic interest is created only by the cumulative effect of a continuous action.

8. **Time as duration** :—Time as duration is nothing but a span of life, a career of a person, a period of history. This aspect of time is well represented at Barhut by the Elephant-and-Scroll design on the coping. In spite of the fact that the bas-reliefs could not be arranged serially according to the chronology of events in the life of Buddha Śākyamuni, they are intended, in point of fact, to represent his whole career from the Praṇidhāna to the Mahāparinirvāṇa, as well as from birth to death, in so far as his last existence is concerned.

9. **Space as a factor in art** :—We have noted that ākāśa or space is that through which the objects or forms come to be perceived as mutually distinct. Space includes also the idea of inter-spaces. It is in connection with space and inter-spaces that the consideration of various other points arises, such as perspective,

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1 Atthasālinī, pp. 83, 420. Santati is only a continued process of similar actions till the desired result is produced.

location or setting, proportion, shape, size, volume, light and shade, background, position, postures and attitudes. The spaces at the disposal of the Barhut artists were panels that are either circular, semi-circular, curved, quadrangular or linear. The shape and size of these panels, combined with the exigency of the subject-matter, had much to do with the judgement of the artists in determining the perspective and the rest. Spacing in Barhut sculptures is not, upon the whole, unsatisfactory, and it is only in a few reliefs (Nos. 37, 137) that the effect is rather clumsy due to the overcrowding of figures.

10 Perspective and Background :—Leaving other points to art-critics for their opinion, we shall here consider only these two points : perspective and background. With regard to the first point, we may observe that Barhut sculptures are generally lacking in a geometrical perspective. There is, nevertheless, a perspective of their own, which may, for want of a better term, be called narrative perspective. In Scene 33, for instance, the four groups of deities are expected to represent four quarters : east, south, west and north. The four quarters are actually represented by disposing the deities in two rows, one behind the other, and detaching two figures from the two rows and making them face opposite directions from two sides. In Fig. 72, the man raising up a standing female on the palm of his hands looks very small as compared with the upper figure, which is not quite correct according to geometrical perspective. There are some Jātaka-scenes, in which the story is represented by stages. The presentation is one of a riddle which cannot be solved unless one views it in the sculptor's own perspective in a vertical projection. The lack of geometrical perspective may explain why there is nothing in the background of the bas-reliefs.[2] Everything, every part of a picture, is sought to be equally placed in front. There is, nevertheless, a background, which is to be supplied from literature or tradition, i.e., by the observer himself from his own knowledge or imagination.

11. Tree-and-Woman motifs :—Dr. J. Ph.Vogel has adopted Śālabhañjikā as a Sanskrit term to denote the tree-and-woman motifs in Indian sculptures.[3] The Mahāvaṃsa employs puppha-sākhā-dharā[4] ("holding the bunches of flowers and branches of trees") as an expression to denote such motifs that are obviously all decorative. As Grünwedel reads them, in these motifs "women stand under a

2 Bachhofer (Early Indian Sculpture, Vol. I, p 23) observes : "The shades are not yet connected and do not produce that uniform dark ground from which emerge the bright illuminated figures."

3 Acta Orientalia, Vol. VII—"Woman and Tree or Śālabhañjikā."

4 *Mahāvaṃsa*, Ch. XXX, V. 91.

tree, and raise their hands among the branches as if to pluck the blossoms".[1] Neither Grünwedel nor Dr. Vogel has read any erotic meaning into them. Recently Mr. K. Rama Pisharoti has published an instructive paper in the Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art (Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 28 foll.), suggesting that Dohada Śālabhañjikā should be adopted as the Indian technical term to denote all these popular artistic devices, represented 'both in Indian literature and sculpture'. He has cited references from the Sanskrit Kāvyas dating from Kālidāsa downwards, and many examples from ancient Indian sculptures dating from Barhut onwards to prove his case. The idea in Dohada is "that some plants, trees and creepers would blossom in the off-season, when lovely women direct their activities towards them". "These activities," adds Mr. Pisharoti, "may be of two kinds : they may consist in direct contact with the body of a woman, as when she kicks, touches or embraces, or in indirect contact, as when she spits liquor upon them or blows at them, laughs, glances at them or when she speaks sweetly, or sings, or dances in front of them. In the terminology of Ālaṃkārikas, most of these are Uddīpanabhāvas so far as Śṛiṅgārarasa is concerned ; that is to say, these are actively associated with Sambhogaśṛiṅgāra, love in enjoyment."

He notices a clear instance of the Latāveshṭika type of 'Āliṅgana-dohada' in the Barhut representation of Yakshī Chandrā (Fig. 73), and Chūlakokā devatā (Fig. 75).

12. Criticism of Pisharoti's interpretation :—Mr. Pisharoti claims that "the women-and-tree motif which was a favourite one with Indian poets, dramaturgists and artists and the variations in its representation, ··finds adequate explanation on the basis of the different kinds of Dohada associated with different trees". This claim, put in this manner, may be allowed to stand. But the weak point in his argument is that he has not succeeded in citing a single reference from any branch of Indian literature, prior in date to the works of Kālidāsa, to prove the earlier existence of the popular belief in the possibility of fertilisation of plants by an amorous contact or association with women. He has referred us indeed to the Mahābhārata and the Jātaka tales that speak of men marrying trees.

There is only one Buddhist legend in which a Brahmin religious student is said to have been wedded to a Pāṭali tree, or to a twig with flowers. This legend was invented by the Buddhists long after the erection of the Buddhist monuments at Barhut, Bodh-gayā and Sānchī, to account for the origin of the name of the city of Pāṭaliputra. The name of its ancient site, as known in

1 Buddhist Art in India, p. 41.

Buddha's time, was Pāṭaligrāma, and Pāṭaligrāma was then only a village on the bank of the Ganges. By the application of the rule of avidūra-upanidhā-paññatti (naming a locality by the proximity of a natural object, such as a tree), one may suggest that the village came to be called Pāṭaligrāma from the circumstance that its entrance was marked by the presence of a Pāṭali tree, or that it abounded with Pāṭali trees (cf. Iṃdasālaguhā, Nigoha-kubhā).[1] The Pali scholiasts, however, suggest that the village became known as Pāṭaligrāma for no other reason than this, that when its foundation was being laid, two or three young Pāṭali trees shot forth from the ground.[2]

Hwen Thsang has described the later Buddhist legend accounting for the origin of the name of Pāṭaliputra, setting forth what is really meant.[3] With a view to satisfying the mania of a Brahmin religious student to marry, his fellow-students laid a plan. They supposed two persons to represent the father and mother of the bridegroom, and two persons to represent the father and mother of the bride. The scene of action was laid under a Pāṭali tree. A twig with flowers on it was supposed to be the bride. This bride was given to the student, whose heart rejoiced as he took her to himself. His fellow-students knew that all this was fun. But he would not return home with them. Affected by love, he preferred to remain there. The fun led to an actual marriage of the student with a young maiden who lived as a tree-spirit in that Pāṭali tree. Even a son was born of that wedlock. The flowering tree became a great mansion for him.

Thus here is no hint at marrying a tree. The custom of a man's marrying a tree, preferably a banana or plantain, prevails among the Hindus. But the object of the ceremony is to create a hiatus in the series of deaths of the wives, married one after the other.

The Ślokas cited by Mr. Pisharoti from the Great Epic (Śāntiparva, Ch. 182, vv. 10-17) are precisely those in which certain empirical proofs are put forward in support of the view that the trees and plants possess all the senses, including the internal percipient or soul (jīva, chaitanya), and that probably in refutation of an earlier view propounded by the Jains and Ājīvikas that the trees and plants possess only one sense, the sense of touch. There is, however, no such specific suggestion

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1 Puggalapaññatti-Atthakathā, Nidāna-vaṇṇanā.

2 Udāna-vaṇṇanā, Siamese Ed, p 515. Tassa kira gāmassa māpana-divase gāmaggahaṇa-ṭṭhāne dve tayo Pāṭalaṅkurā paṭhavito ubbhijjitvā nikkhamiṃsu, tena taṃ Pāṭaligāmo tveva vohariṃsu.

3 Beal, Buddhist Records, Vol. II, pp. 83-85.

made in those ślokas that the trees are fertilised by an amorous contact with a lovely woman.

The Sanskrit Kāvya descriptions of Dohada are interesting as an effective erotic mode of differentiating the artistic devices associating women with trees. But the question is—shall we be justified in reading an erotic meaning into all of such devices, particularly into those at Barhut? When art sets up a form, it may be interpreted differently by different persons according to their taste and temperament.

A view indeed gained ground in Indian literature, both ascetic and erotic, opining that woman is all sex or lust. All her gestures and postures, all her movements and playful activities were interpreted as a sign or expression in different ways of her lustful self.[1] It is really in this very character that she has been represented in many of the bas-reliefs of Barhut. But even this is no evidence in support of Mr. Pisharoti's interpretation of the tree-and-woman motifs.

In interpreting them, we must take them along with other motifs in which the yakshiṇīs, devatās and devakumārīs are represented. Confining our attention to the female statues, we may notice that the yakshiṇīs and devatās are represented either as female devotees or as actresses. As devotees, either they are gathering flowers and fruits to make an offering thereof at the sanctuary, or they (Figs. 7, 7a, 78,) are ready with such offerings in their hands, or are performing the act of adoration (Figs. 26-32). As actresses, they are either taking part in a musical performance (Figs. 34, 39, 69, 81), or performing a gymnastic feat (Figs. 68, 72, 74, 82a). In the so-called tree-and-woman motifs, they are invariably shown as plucking blossoms or fruits. In one example, she is plucking blossoms, standing on the back of an elephant (Fig. 75); in one, standing on the back of a horse (Fig. 76), in one, on the head and tail of a horse-headed makara (Fig. 73); and in one, on the ground (Fig 19). On the bevelled edges of the uprights, the devakumārīs are represented as plucking flowers and fruits, standing on lotus blossoms or lifted cobra-heads. *The* Barhut *meaning* of the tree-and-woman *motif may be evident from a* representation of these maidens in Fig. 7d, Pl. X.

12. Method of continuous narration:—The method of continuous narration or continuous action, adopted in some of the Barhut panels, and in the Barhut sculpture on the whole, consists in "the portraying in one composition of two

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1 Fausböll, Jātaka, Vol. V, pp. 424 foll.; Lalita-vistara, ed. Lefmann, p. 320.

or more scenes from the same series".[1] One may readily agree with Dr. Coomaraswamy in thinking that this method of narration is not "specifically Jaina, nor even specifically Indian, but rather simply primitive". In the same connection, he characteristically observes : "Here···is a method of narration...possible in visual art, but difficult in words...according to which a succession of events is actually represented in spatial simultaneity. The method contrasts with that of a now much more familiar and 'realistic' type of art in which a strictly momentary condition, rather than a continuous act of being, is depicted. The limiting concepts are on the one hand that of the world-picture...in which all that belongs to every where and every when takes place immediately and is seen at a single glance without duration or spatial analysis ; and on the other, that of the static glimpse of what takes place at a single moment in a given time-sequence and in a given place determinable geographically. These limiting concepts are then of two entirely different 'nows' ; in one case the now of eternity, in the other a datable now ; and in the same way, concepts of two entirely different 'heres', one that is everywhere, the other local. Evidently, the continuously narrative art tends rather to be the representation of the now of eternity apart from temporal and spatial extension, than to the now envisaged by the painter of effects and of events". "We are not," he adds in continuation, "by any means suggesting that the methods of continuous narration and vertical projection were devised in order to be the presentation of a vision of things apart from time and space, but rather that *things seen, apart from time and space in* 'dhyāna'. Vedic 'dhī' could not have been otherwise represented. One could not merely by an arbitrary and 'archaistic' imitation of the method repeat its implications ; the thing must 'proceed from within, moved by its form'. The modality of primitive art is not a style adapted by a process of reasoning to a given content, but concreated with its content, just as whatever is created in the likeness of a given form is not an imitation of a pre-existing form. but 'concreated' with its form, by which it is informed. It has thus been demonstrated what is the ultimate content of Jaina (and a posteriori, of Buddhist) art, and that its stylistic formulæ are not merely appropriate to, but inseparable from the expression of this content, and as a matter of infallible necessity".[2]

We have nothing more to add to these words of Dr. Coomaraswamy than that whether the roots of the method of continuous representation in visual art may be traced in Vedic symbolism or not, his interpretation of the method itself is precisely what it should be according to the Buddhist conception of art and time.

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1 Brown, N. W., Miniature paintings of the Jaina Kalpasūtra, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1934, p. 32.
2 Journal I. S. O. A., Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 141-144.

13. Patachitras and Sculptures :—The pictorial and plastic representations as two allied forms of visual art developed side by side in ancient India. Looking at each of the Barhut panels and viewing them all in succession, one is apt to feel as though the pictures have been drawn on stone instead of on canvas. Each panel presents only a front view. A tradition of Paṭachitras or scroll-pictures was built up in India at the time of the rise of Buddhism, and it has continued to modern times. These pictures were known in Buddha's time as charaṇachitra, 'rambling pictures' (vicharaṇachittaṃ), rambling in the sense that a class of Brahmin religious teachers, Nakha by name, used to wander about in the country, instructing the people by means thereof. The favourite theme, of course, was the happy or unhappy state of persons after death resulting from their good or bad deeds.[1] Maṃkha or Makha is the name suggested in the Jaina Bhagavatī-Sūtra for the pictures themselves.[2] It is quite possible that the Pāli Nakha is a wrong spelling of Makha, which, even according to the Avadhūta-Upanishad (6), should be the name of those painter-teachers.[3] We are told that the pictures were drawn on a koṭṭhaka or portable box-like gallery and labelled with inscriptions[4] These pictures became afterwards known as Yamapaṭas. The tradition of this ancient pictorial art has been maintained in the Buddhist bas-reliefs and frescoes. The bas-reliefs and frescoes on the one hand, and the scroll-pictures on the other are alike so far as their method and technique are concerned.

14. Foreign influence :—Patriotism alone cannot do away with the fact that certain forms of both architecture and sculpture were derived, if not actually borrowed, in Indian art from foreign sources : Achæmenian or Iranian, West Asian or Assyrian, Hellenic or Greek. The direct influence of the architecture of Persepolis is palpable in the bell-capital of Asokan monoliths which left its legacy in the Śuṅga art of Barhut. The pillars bearing upon them the winged figures of animals—winged horses, gazels, goats, lions, or sitting elephants, resemble in form the Iranian 'unicorn pillars'. The form of these winged creatures takes us back to a source which is ultimately Assyrian.[5] And in the adoption of the acanthus and other mythical plants as a means of decoration we may clearly trace

1 Barhut, Bk. I p. 92.

2 Uvāsaga-Dasāo, English Transl. by Hoernle, Appendix A

3 Sa mahāmakho mahāyogah kṛitsnametach chitraṃ karma.

4 Sāratthappakāsini, Siamese Ed., Part. II, p. 398 ; Nakho nāma brāhmaṇa-pāsaṇḍikā honti, te pana koṭṭhakaṃ katvā tattha nānappakārā sugati-duggatiyo sampatti-vipattiyo likhāpetvā "Idaṃ kammaṃ katvā idaṃ paṭilabhati idaṃ katvā idan" ti dassento vicharanti.

5 Grünwedel, Buddhist Art in India, pp. 16-18.

a debt to Hellenic art tradition.[1] But Grünwedel notices 'derivatives of the Assyrian cherubs' in the figures of animals 'with human faces, long pointed beards and finely twisted manes, every lock of which is represented according to rule'.[2] With Grünwedel, the representation of Kubera and other deities as standing upon their attributes is one 'in imitation of Western Asian deities'.[3] The influence of Egyptian art is palpable in the form and drapery of some of the Barhut Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs.

The historical possibilities of the infiltration of those foreign influences lay in these two facts : (1) that both Aśokan and Śunga art forms developed after cultural contact with the Iranians and other western nations, including the Græco-Bactrians, had been established ; and (2) that the artists employed by Aśoka and the builders of Barhut monument were persons who hailed from the North-western region of India which was geographically the meeting place of Indian, Iranian, Bactrian and Western Asian cultures.

Take, for instance, the Barhut representation of the Sun-god called Mihira (Fig. 71). He puts on high-heeled boots. He is clad from the feet upwards to the bosom. He wears 'a girdle, avyaṅga (Bactrian aiwyāonha), about his waist.' He stands like a soldier with his big sword put in a sheath. He holds a bunch of grapes in his right hand. According to Varāhamihira, this form of Sūrya is Uttarā-pathaka or North-western.[4] Next look at the Bodh-Gayā representation of Sūrya with his charioteer Aruṇa, driving the one-wheeled chariot drawn by four horses. Sūrya himself is still represented by a disc placed under an umbrella.[5] Thus we get two distinct forms which combine in all later representations of this powerful god.

The art-critics have come at last to realize that the claim of Indian patriotism touches the fundamentals of Indian art, while the copies and borrowings of forms and devices from other traditions constitute only a secondary feature or side-issue. Even Grünwedel, who is a strong advocate of foreign influences, is foreed to admit : "All these hybrid creatures and winged figures—besides their purely decorative role, have been employed in representing the inferior mythical beings of the native mythology."[6]

1 Vincent A Smith, Asoka, 3rd edition.
2 Grünwedel, Buddhist Art, p. 50.
3 Ibid, pp. 40-41.
4 Barhut, Bk. II, pp. 69-70.
5 Barua, Gayā & Buddha-Gayā, Vol. II.
6 Buddhist Art in India, p. 18.

Now the discovery of the ancient works of art at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa has greatly robbed the question of borrowing from Western Asian forms of its charm. These works point to the existence of an art-tradition in the Indus Valley in so remote an age as chalcolithic. And a careful study of that tradition reveals the fact that the same trend of art has expressed its rhythm now here, now there : now at Barhut, now at Bodh-Gayā ; now at Sānchī, now at Mathurā, now at Sārnāth, now at Amarāvatī. The animal figures show a wonderful vigour of expresson, virility, vitality and animation in form. The human figures, the representation of sacred trees and other natural objects display similar characteristics. And the continuity of these forms, in a slightly modified mode, may be clearly traced in all subsequent art activities, including those at Barhut.[1]

There are again scholars, headed by Dr. Coomaraswamy, who from a new interpretation of Vedic ideas, mythology and symbolism have brought to view the eternal, perennial source—the within of the self, from which the forms of Indian art had evolved.

15. Monotony relieved :—The Arthaśāstra mentions punarukti or repetition as a defect of style of royal writs,—of epistolary composition (śāsana). Aśoka was aware of this defect. So in his R. E. XIV, he has said : "There are matters that have been repeatedly dwelt upon (puna puna vutaṃ) only because of the sweetness of their meaning (athasa madhuratāya)." The Barhut artists too were conscious of this defect in art compositions. So they took particular care to relieve the sense of monotony in the repetition of the same form. They tried to achieve this object, first, by acting upon the principle of 'na cha so, na cha añño', 'neither the same, nor the other'; and secondly, by the interposition of dissimilar forms, such as the leonine figures in the Elephant-and-Scroll of the coping on its inner side, and the pillars bearing the statues of deities in the reliefs on the railing proper. It is rarely that they repeated the same form without adding a novel feature to it.[2] It will be fully recognized some day that the rules of Indian nāṭyaśāstra (dramaturgy) and alaṅkāraśāstra (poetics) have their application also to art forms and compositions.

1 Indian Sculpture by Stella Kramrisch, Heritage of India Series, is an admirable exposition of this trend of India art.

2 One such example is the medallion representing the majestic figure of a peacock honoured by two other peacocks from opposite sides (Pl. XXXIII).

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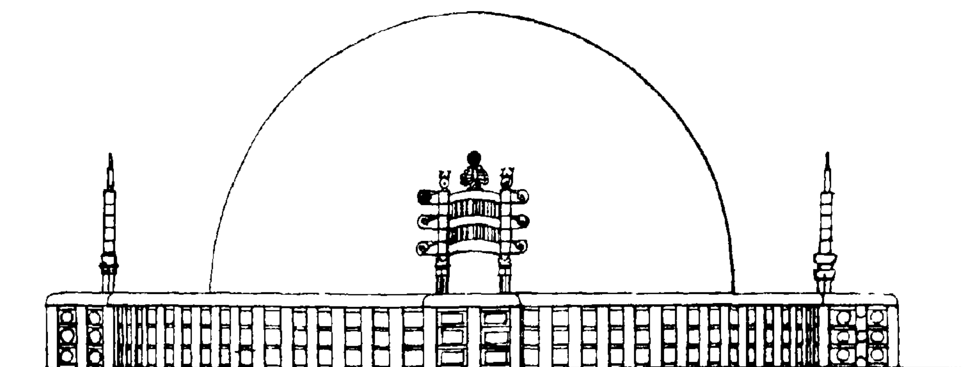
NORTH

WEST

EAST

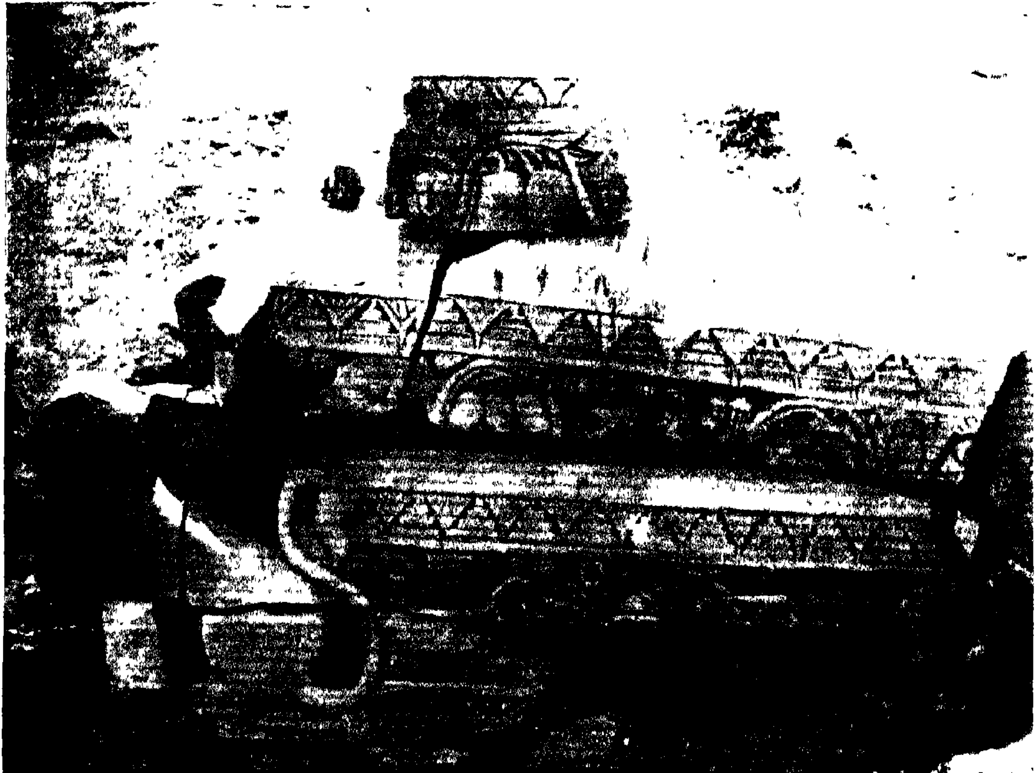
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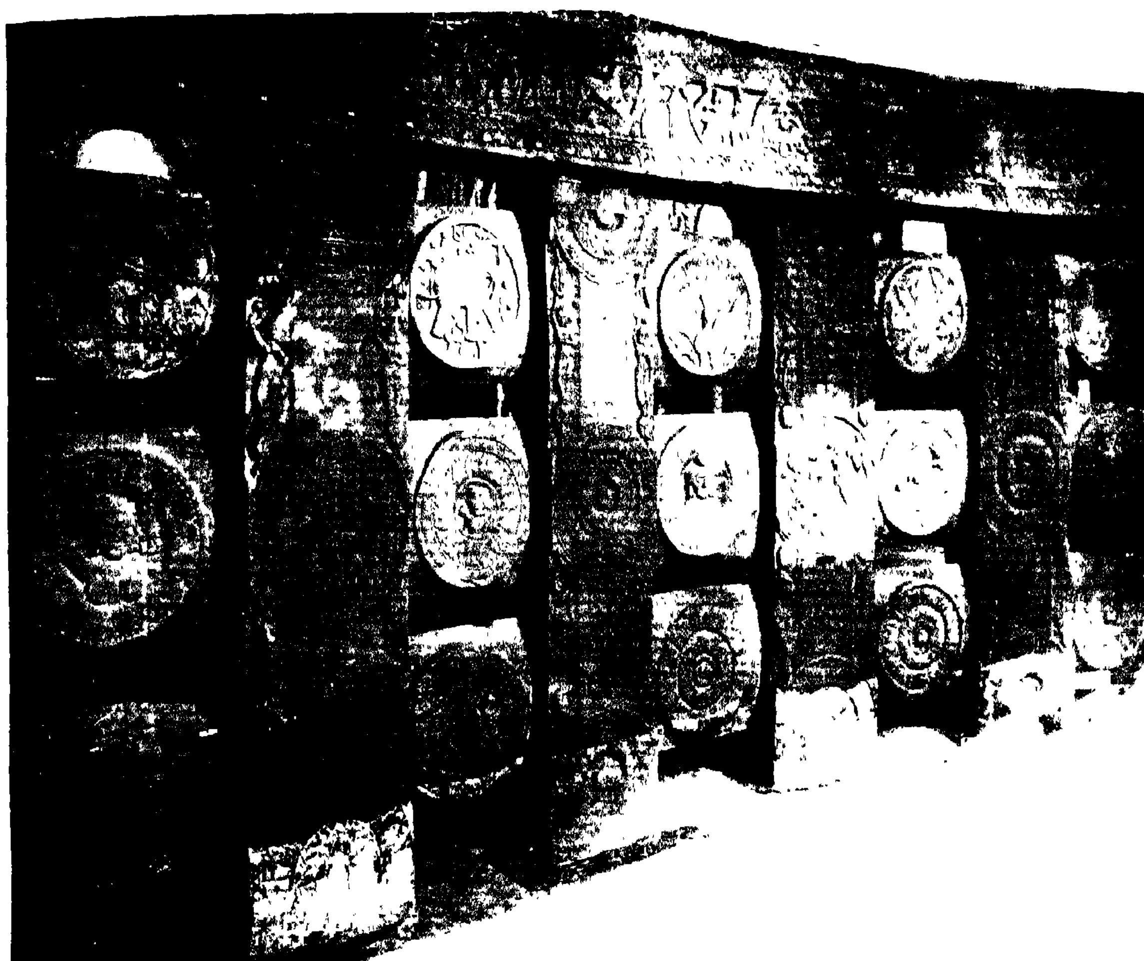


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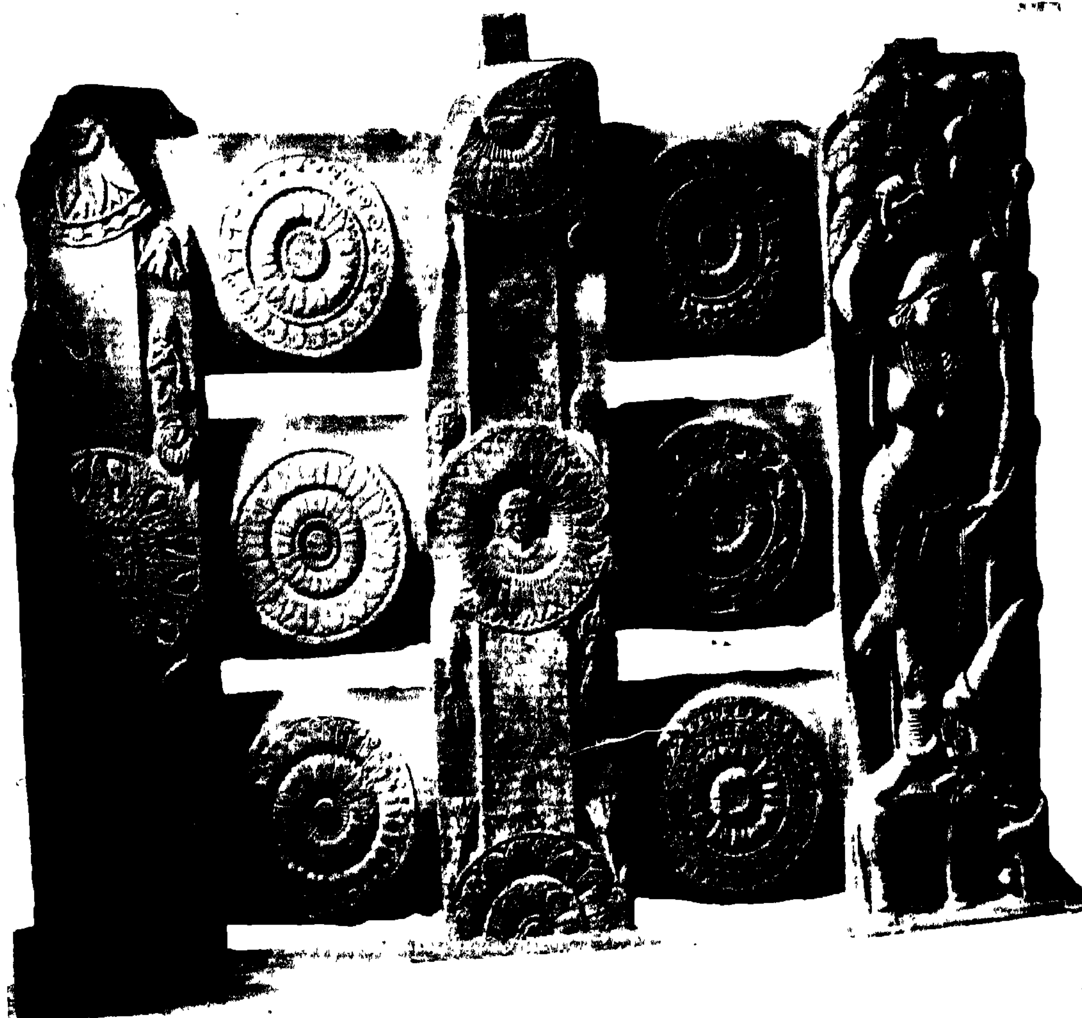
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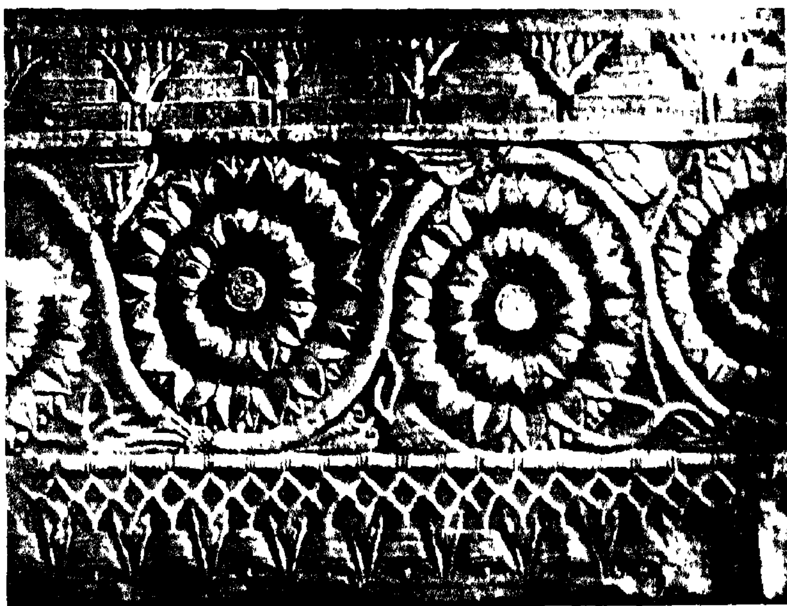


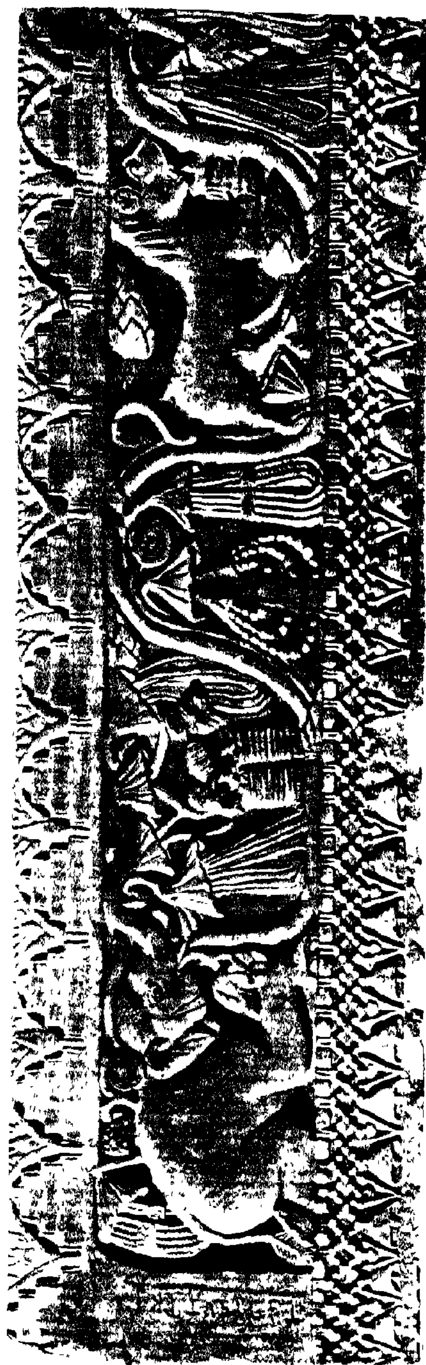






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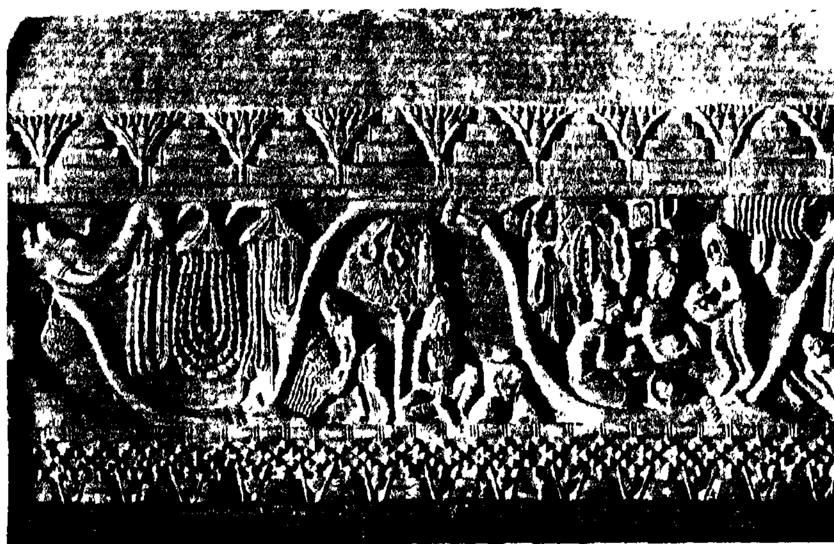








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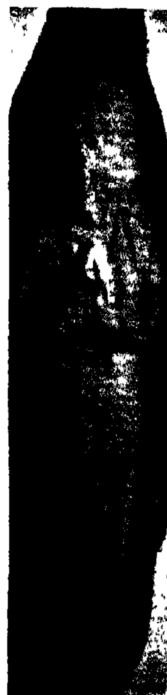
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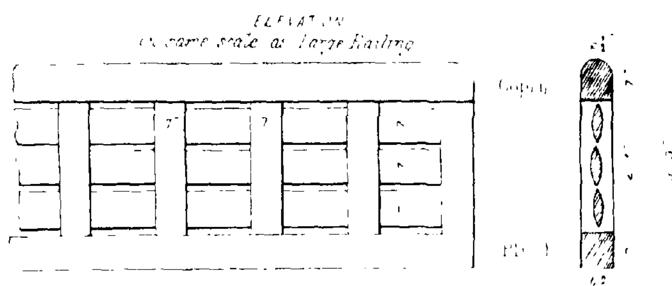
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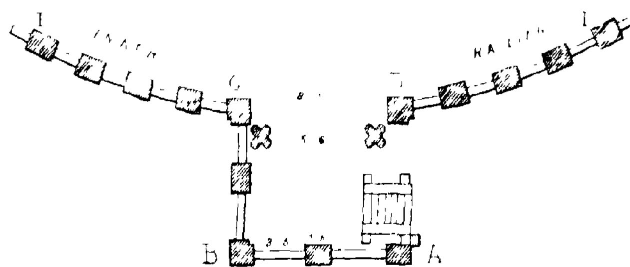


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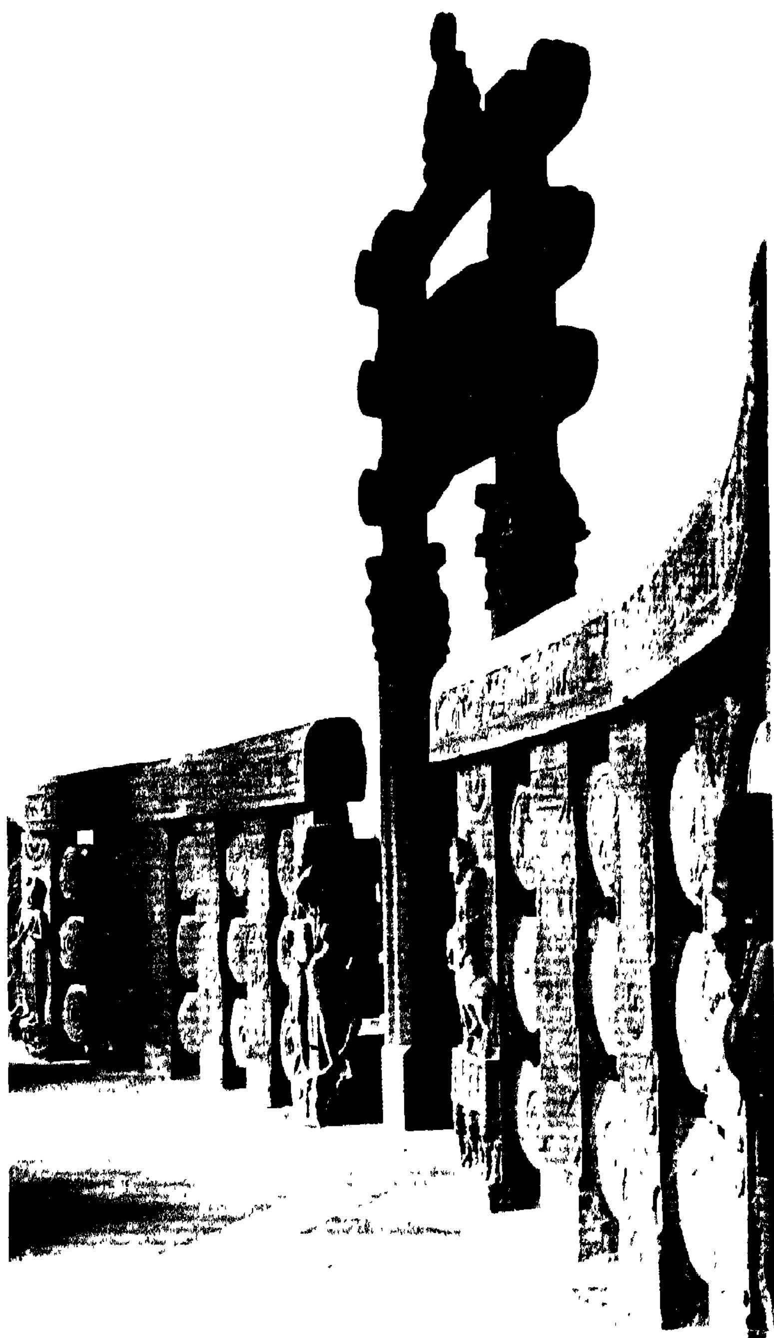
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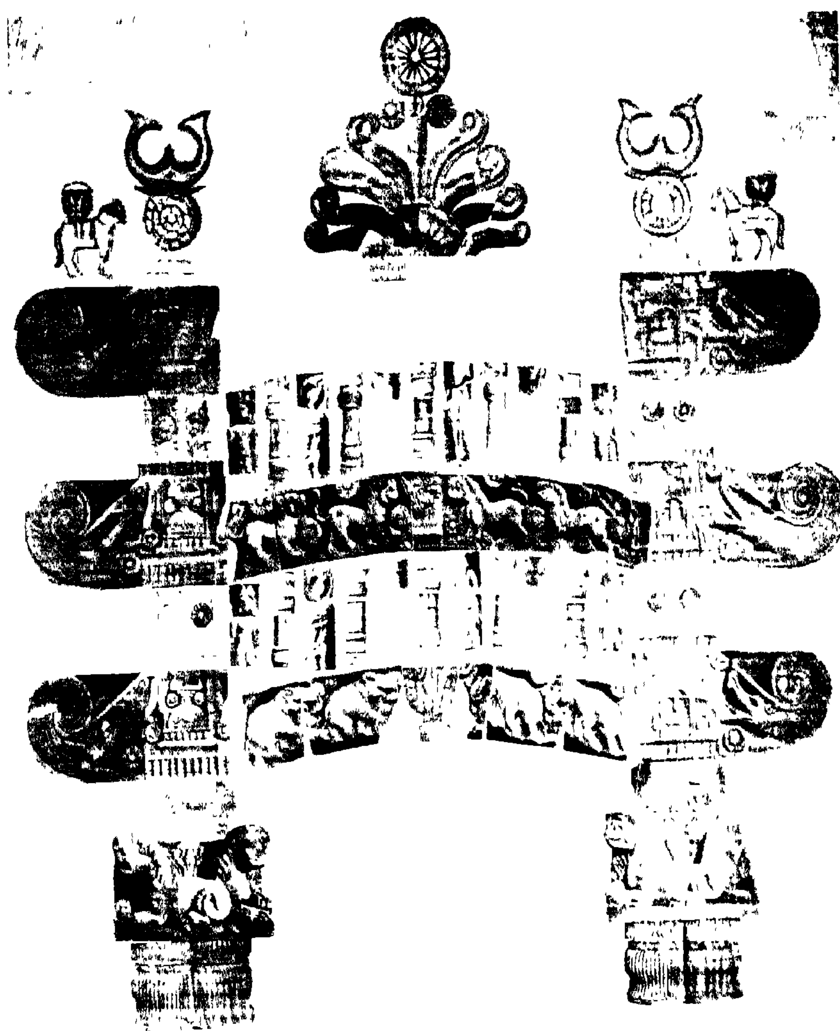




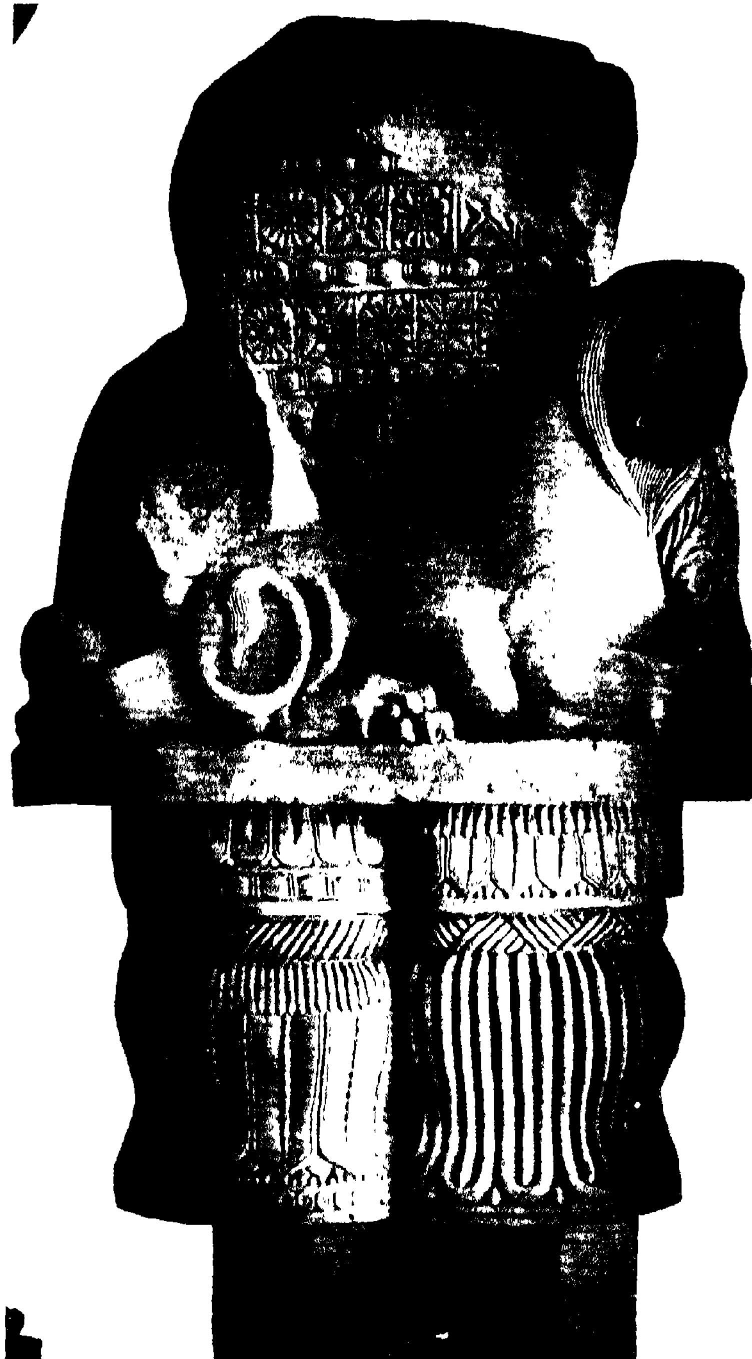
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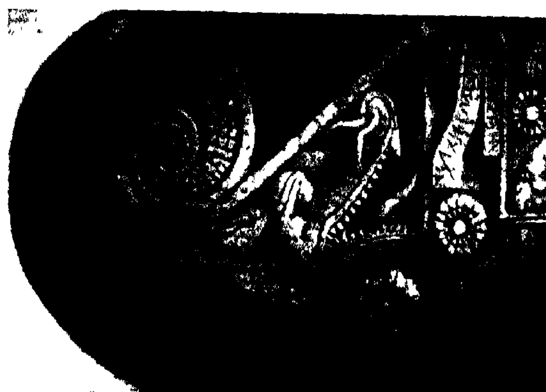


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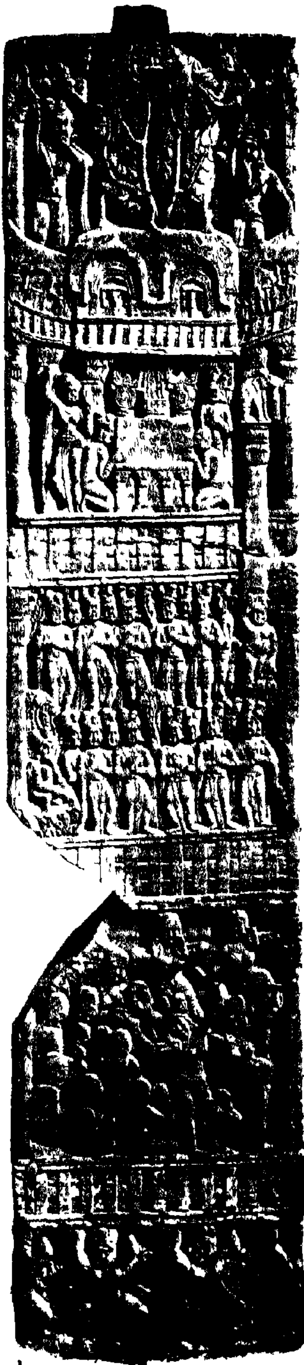
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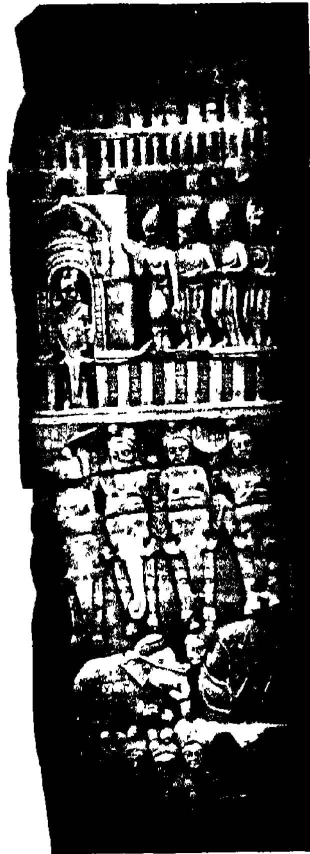
17*a*



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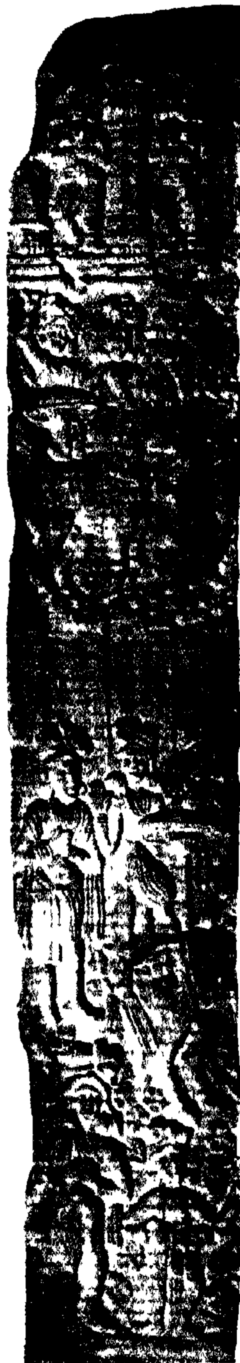
17*b*



17*d* 41



17*c*



18



19



24a



24b



24b



24c



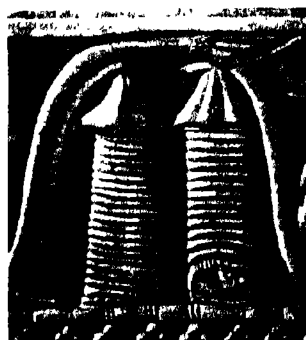
24c'



24d



24e



24f



24g



24*h*



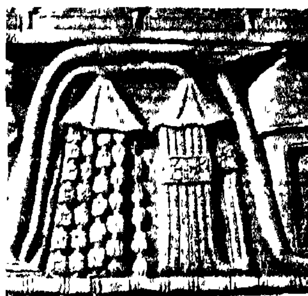
24*h'*



24*h''*



24*i*



24*i'*



24*j*



24*j'*



24(*g*)



24*g*(*h*)

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21–24



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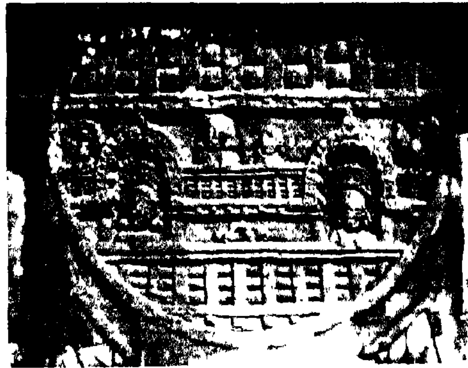
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22–23



21–24



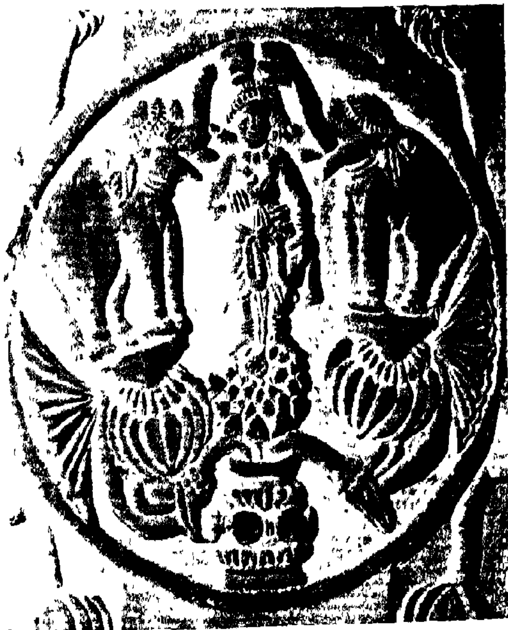
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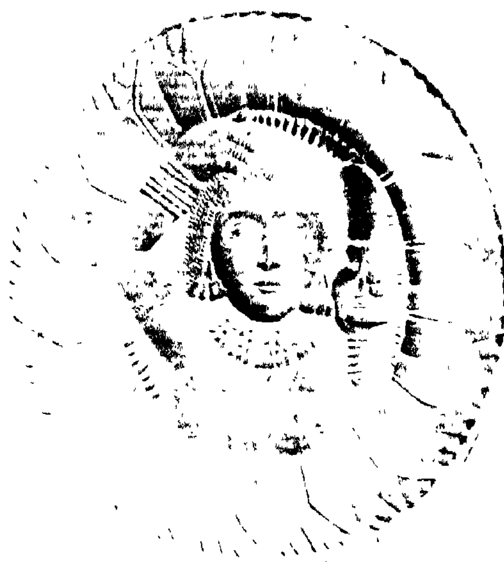
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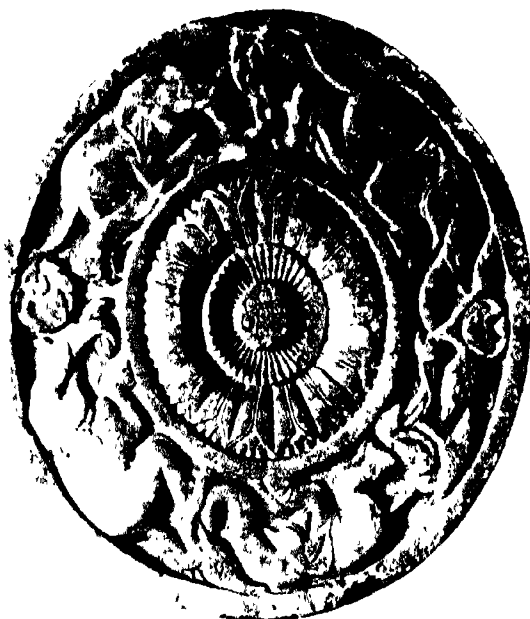
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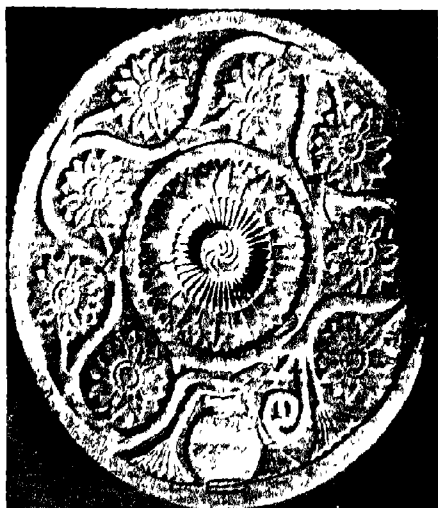
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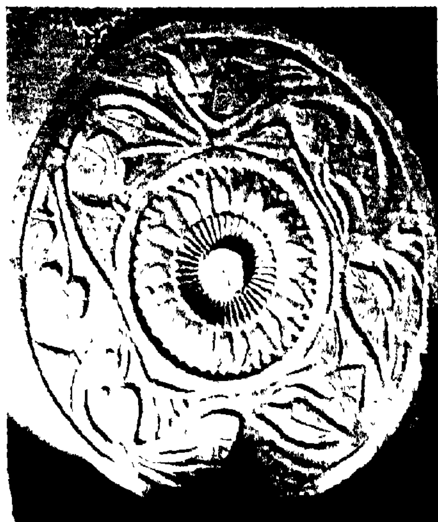
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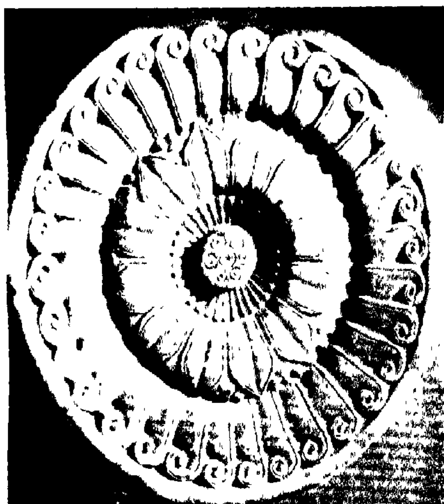
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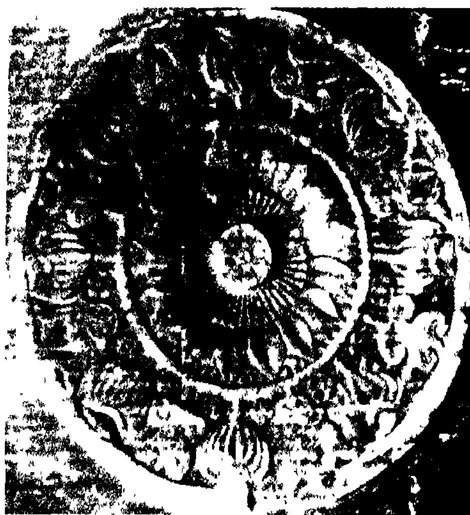
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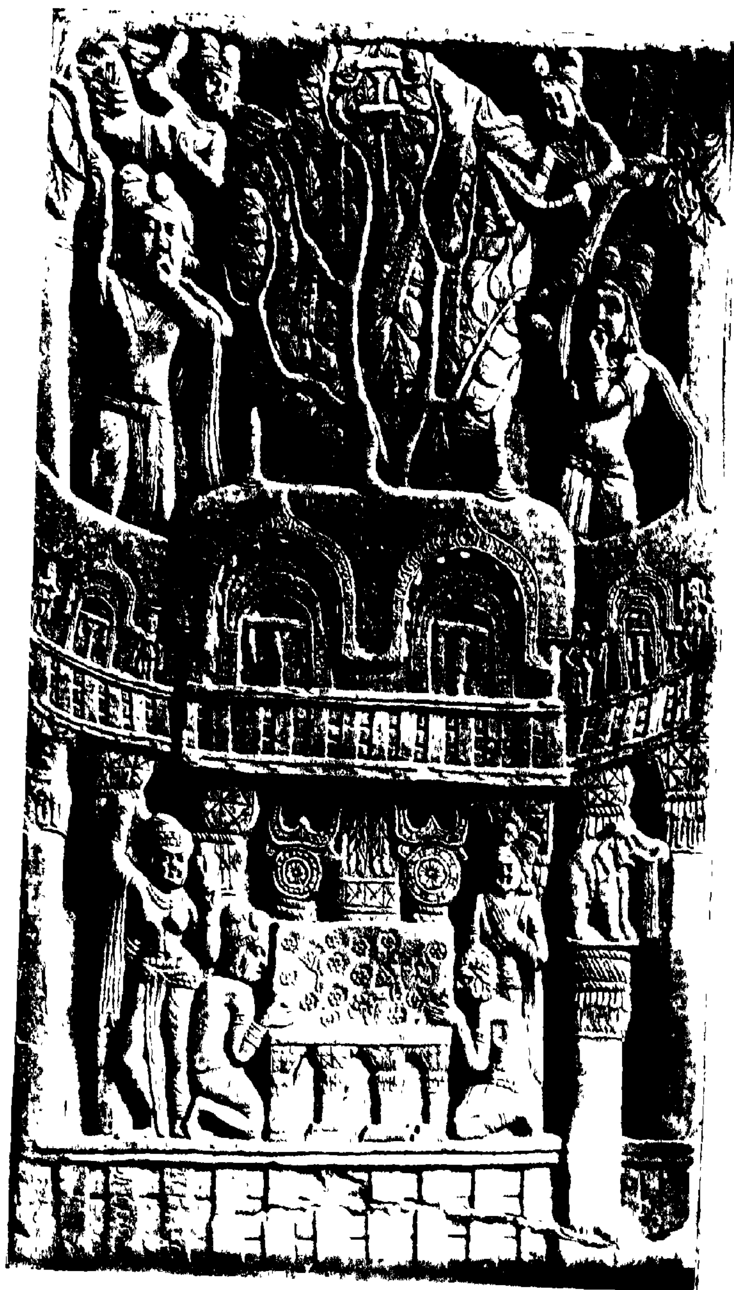
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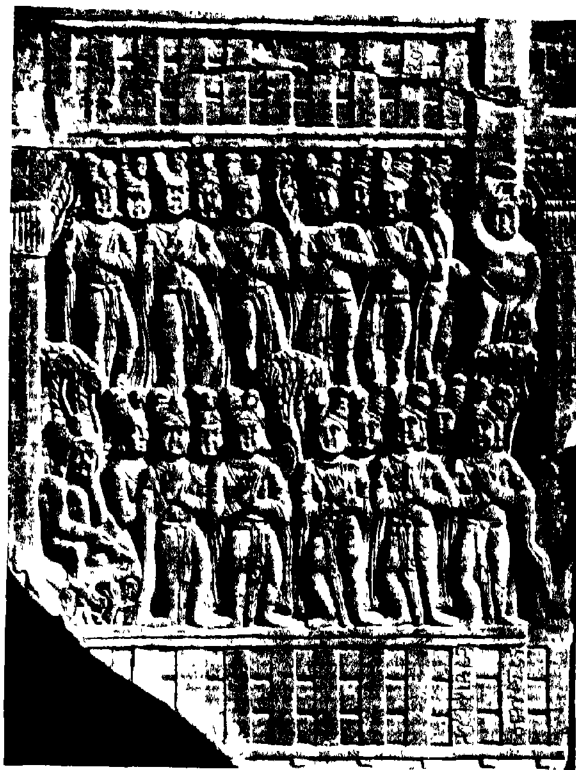


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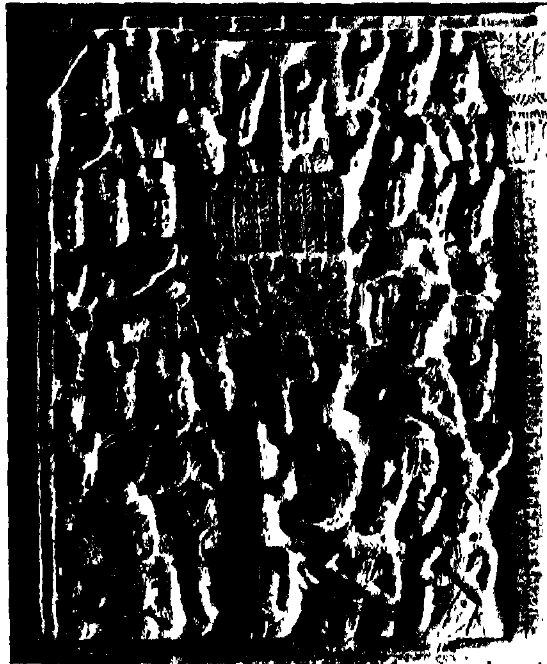


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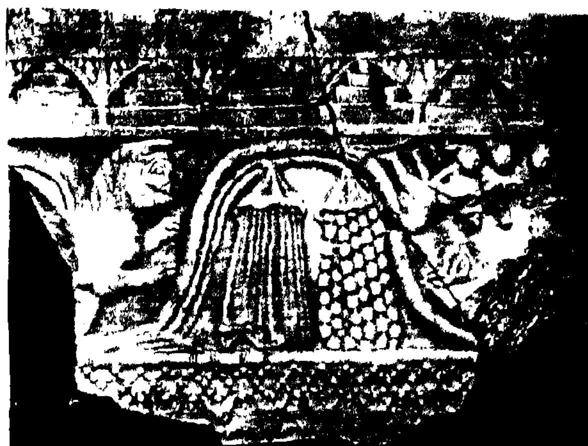




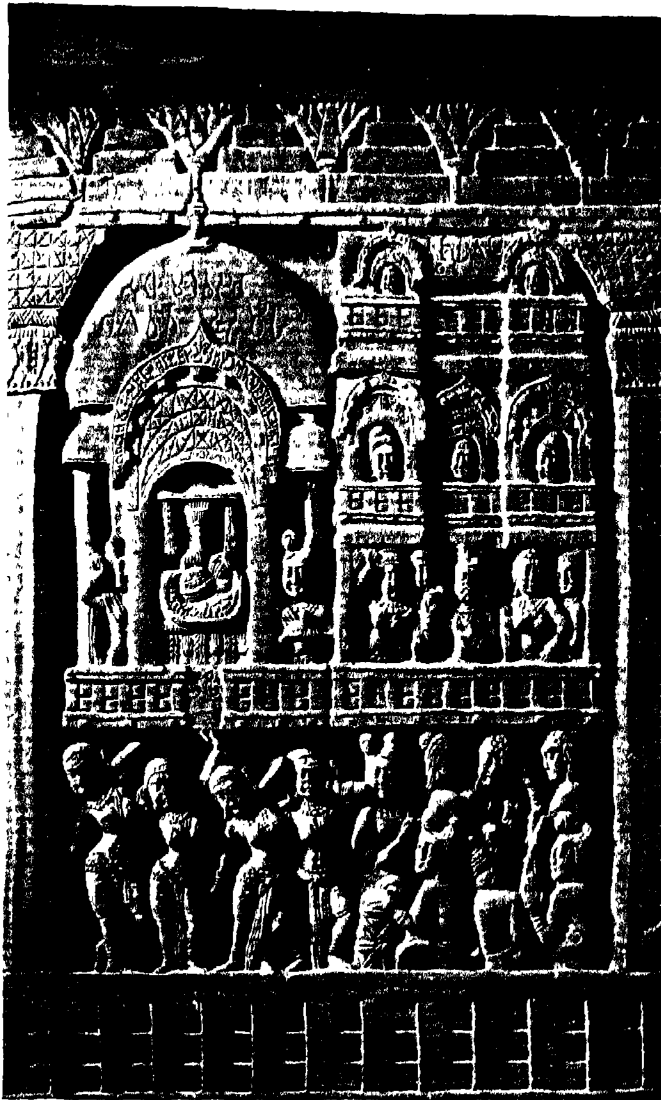
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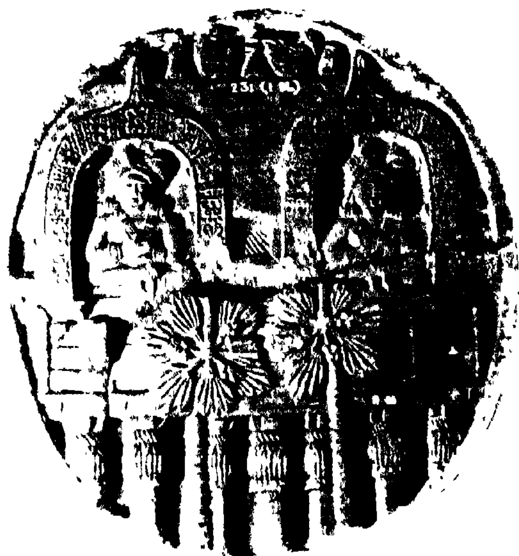


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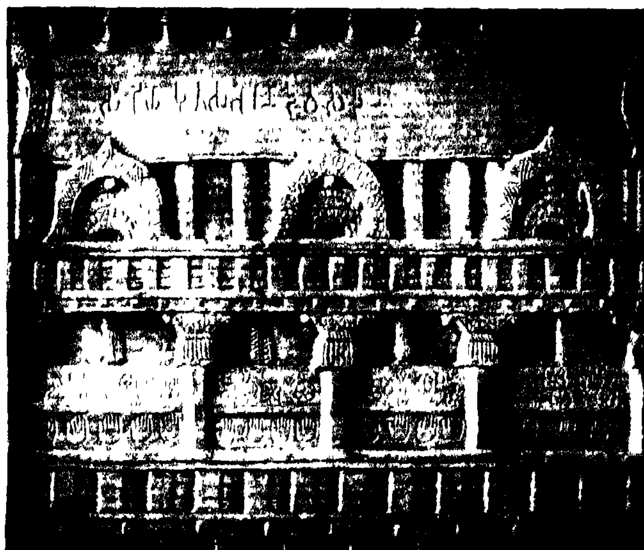
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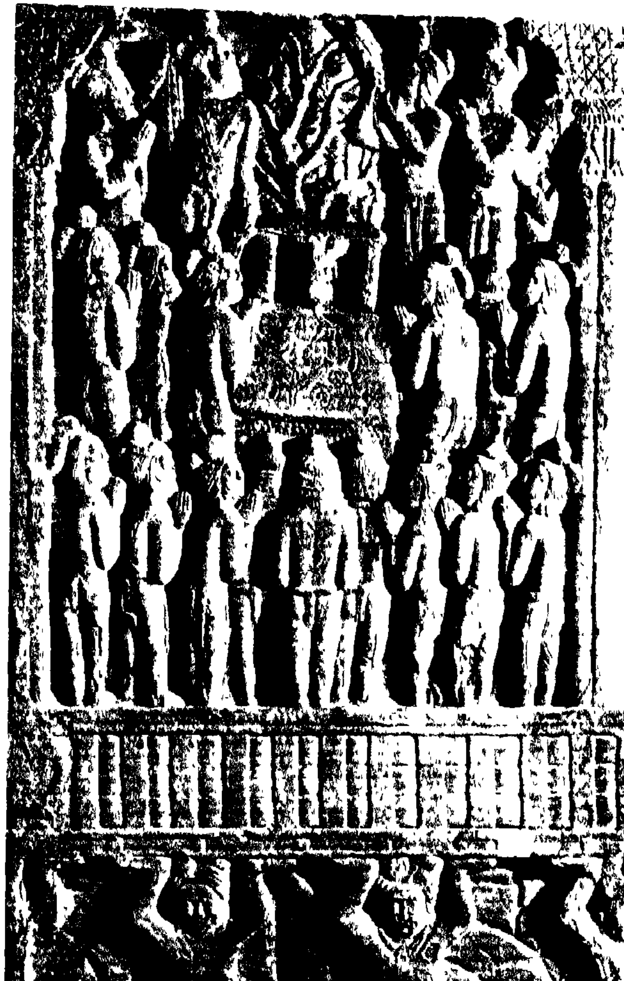


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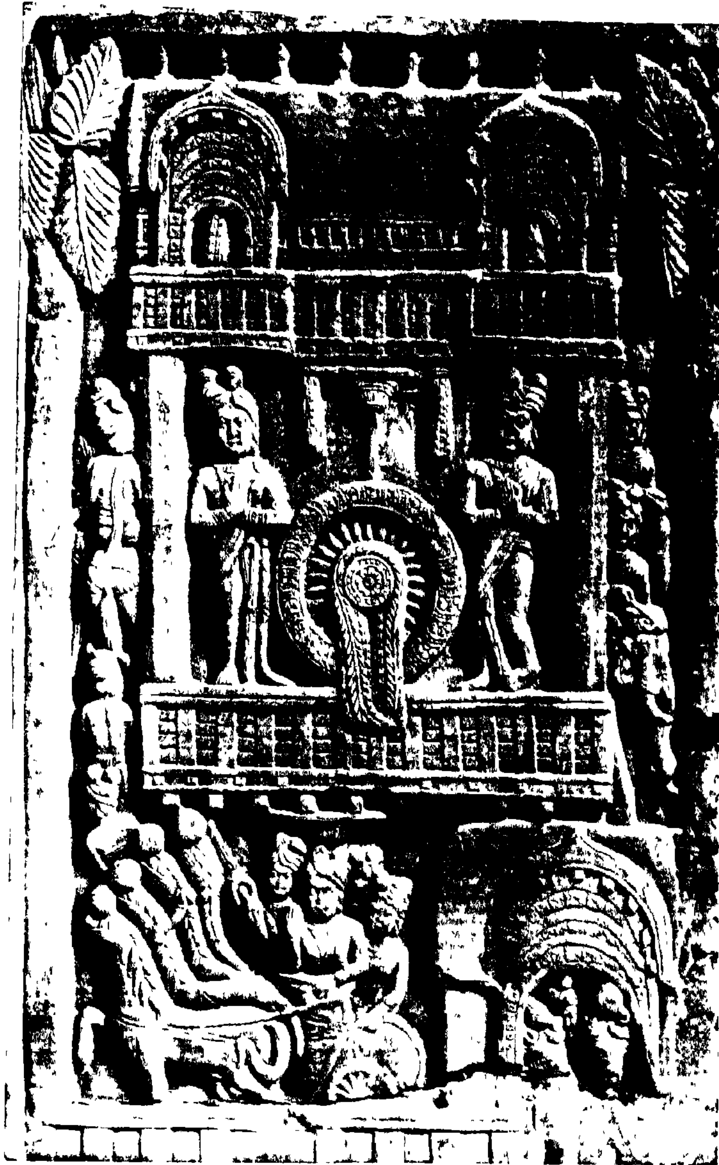


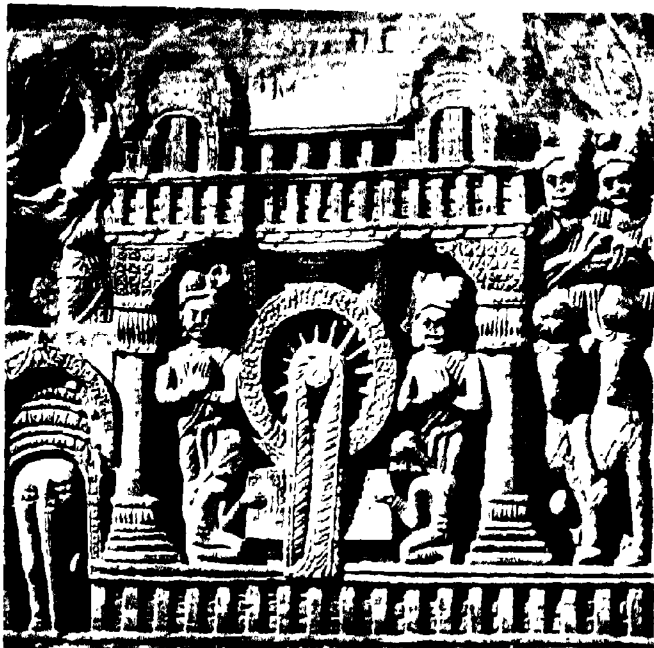


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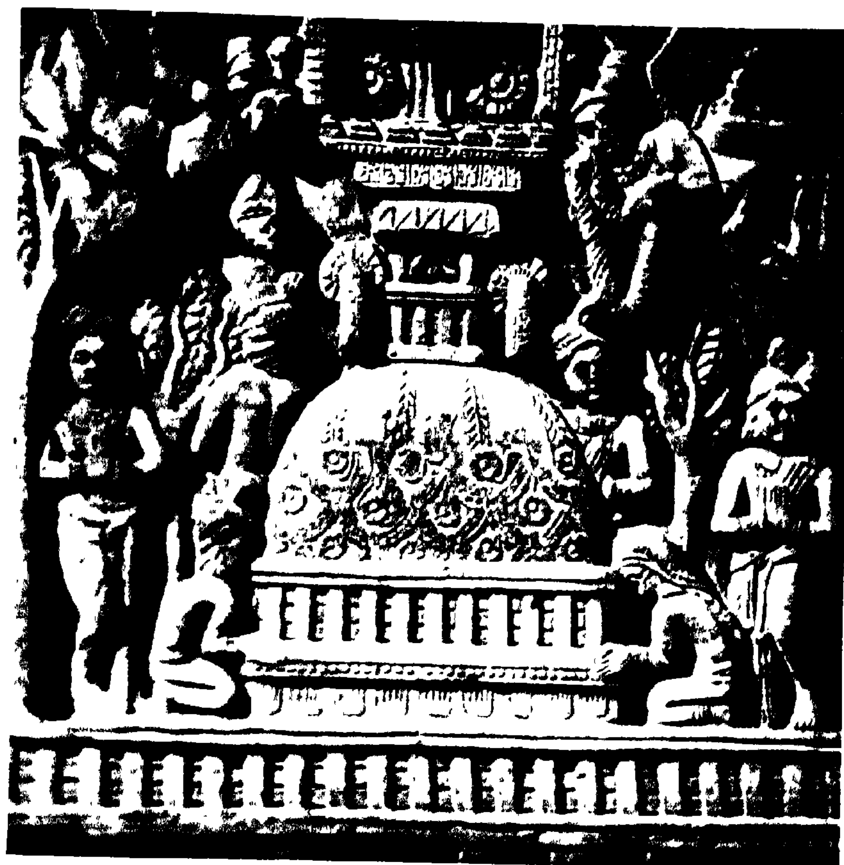


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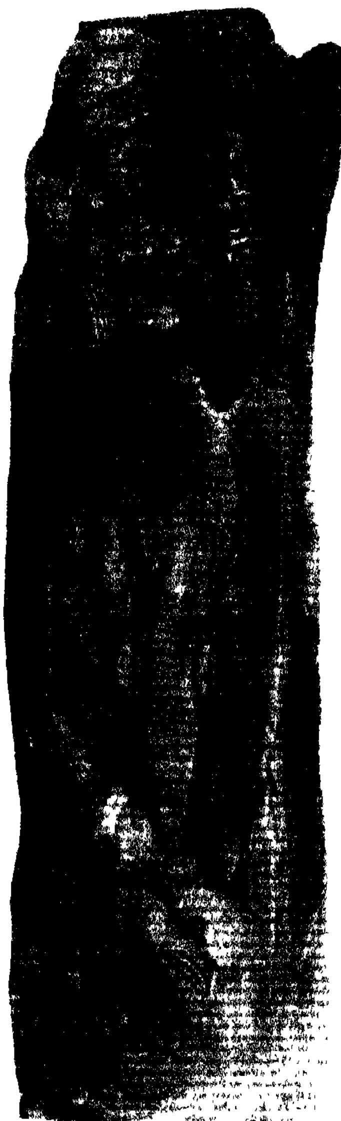
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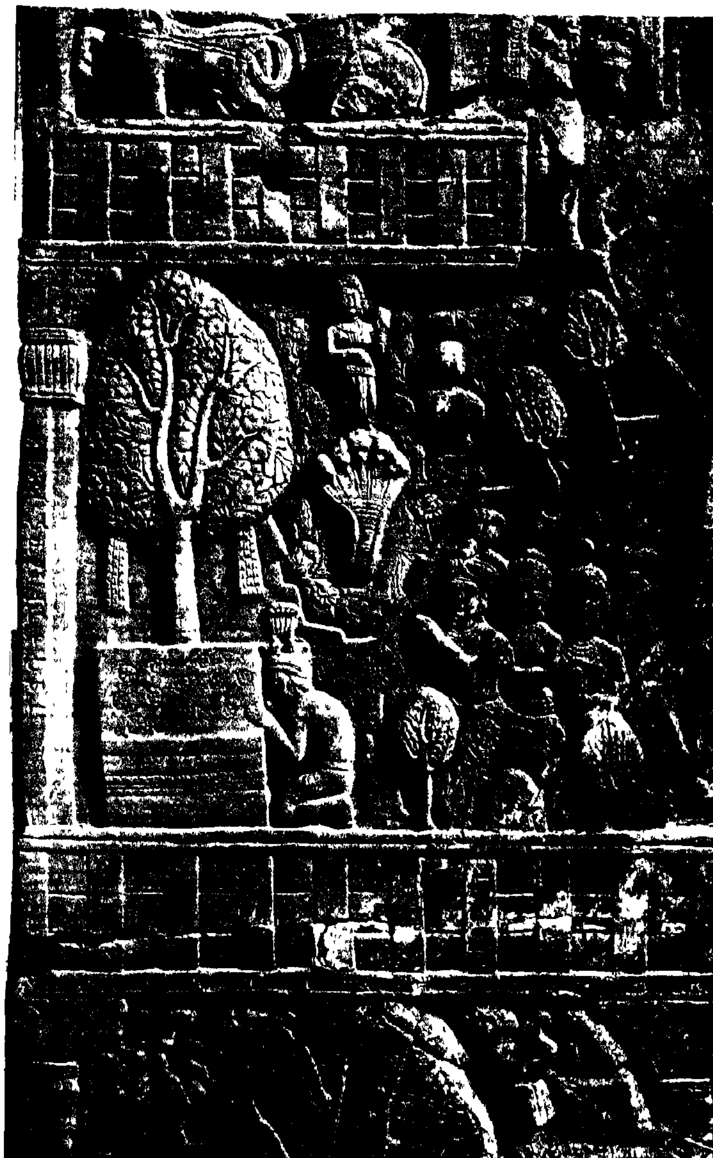
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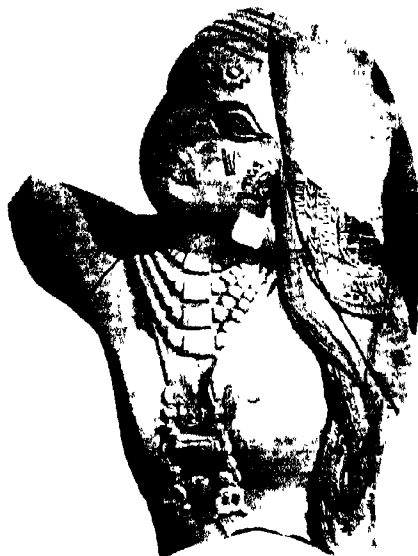
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82*a*

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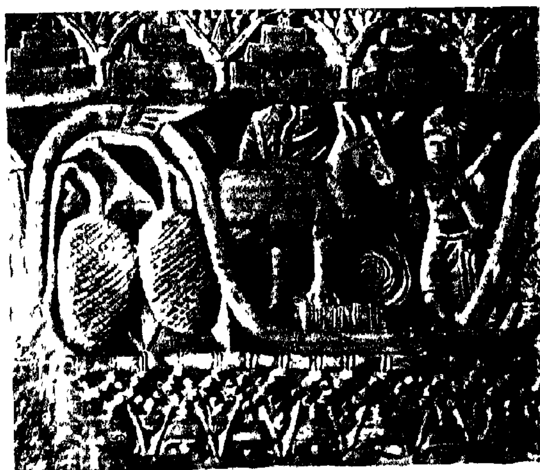
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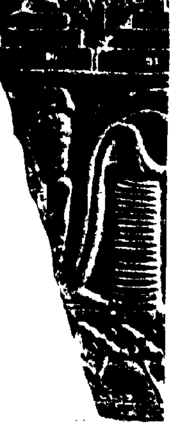
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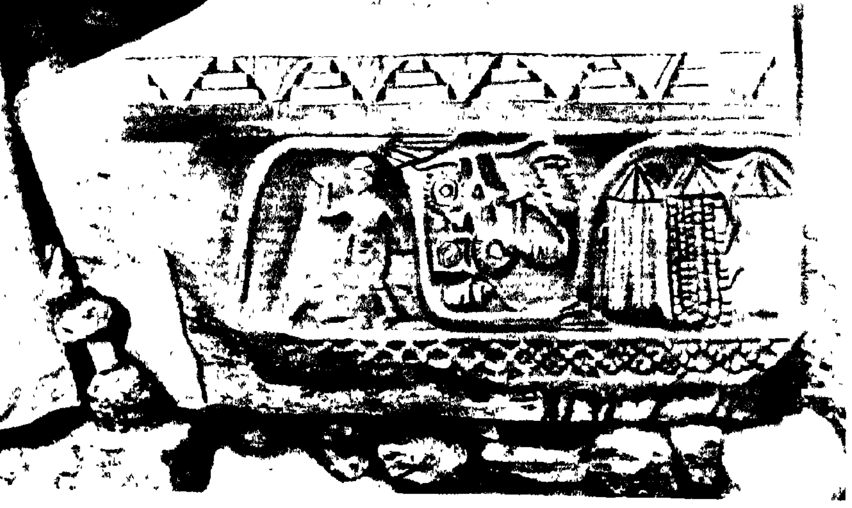
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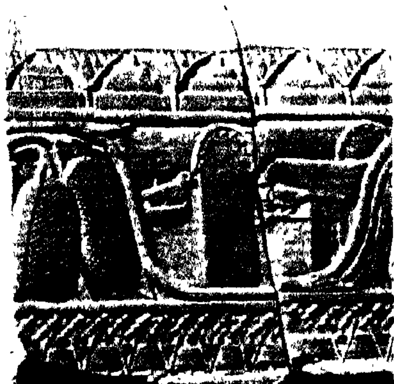


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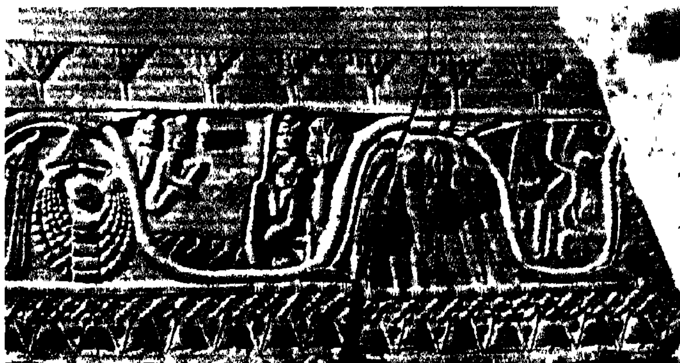
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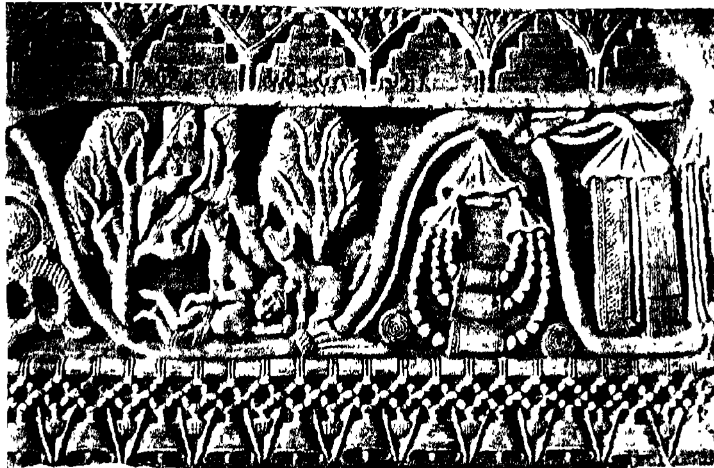
95



96



95*a*



97



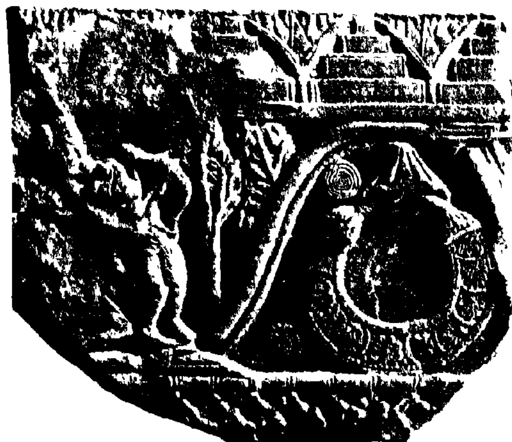
98



98*a*



99



100



101

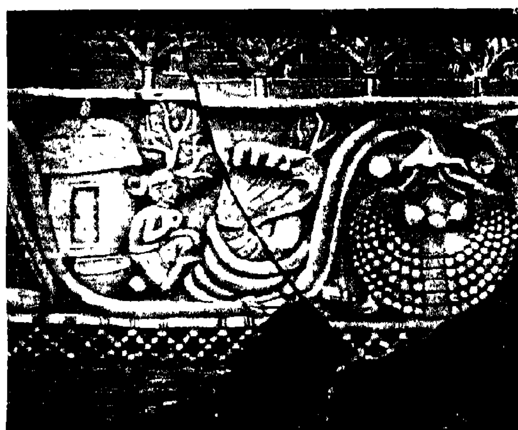


102





104



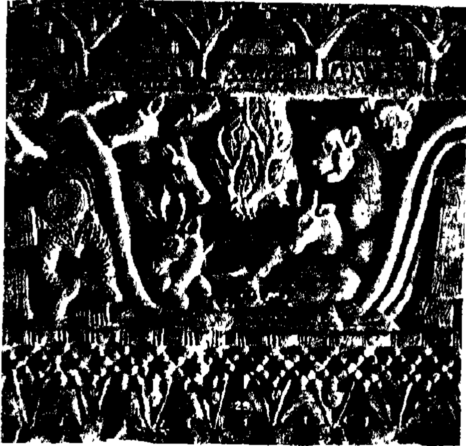
106



105



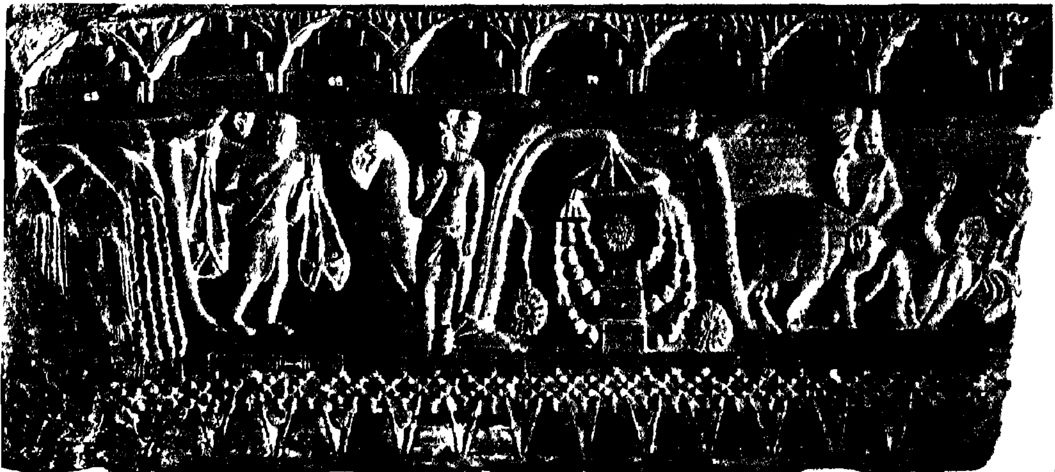
107



108



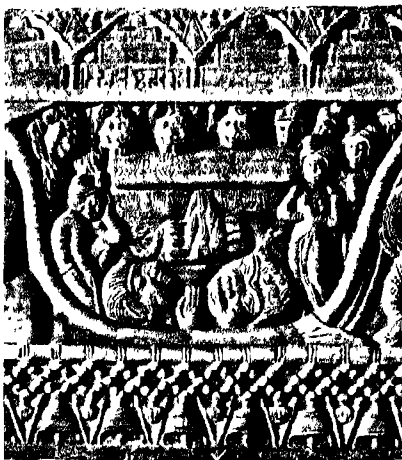
109



111



113



116



119



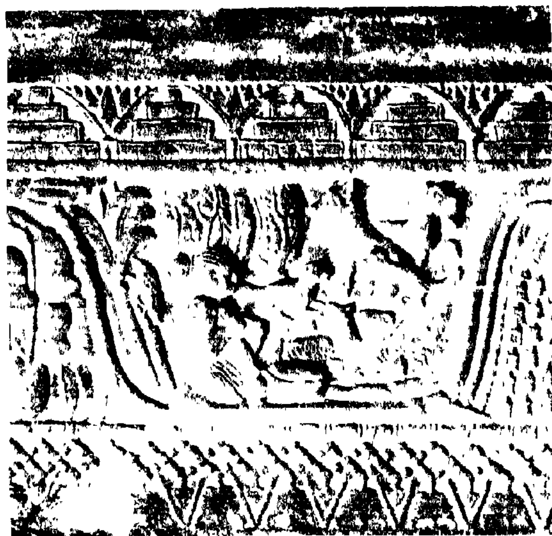
117



122



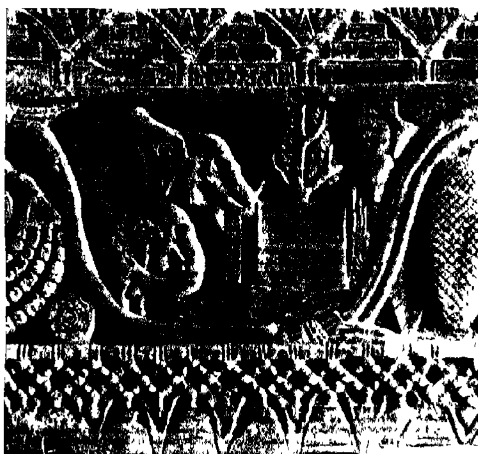
120



121



124



124*a*



125



126



130



127



129

130 From C





131



135



132



133





136



138



140

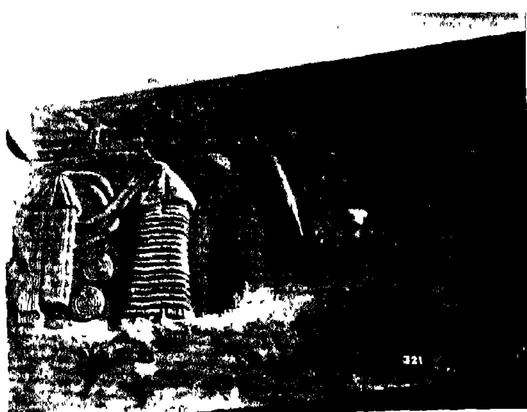




141*c*



141*b*



141

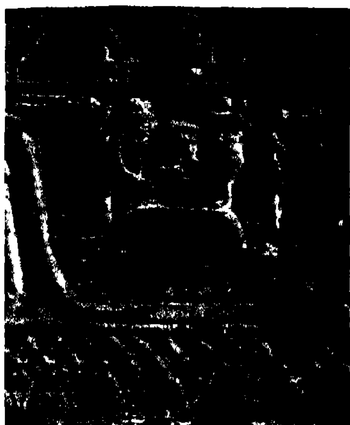


141*a*

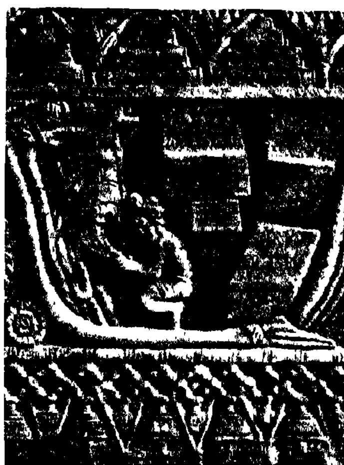
141c From C

141a numbered 22 (2)? in Bk II p 119

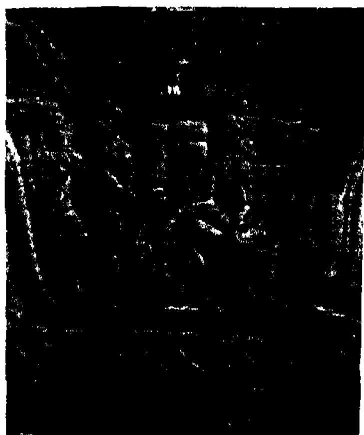




143



144



145



146

146 From C



147



148



148a

147 From C



148c